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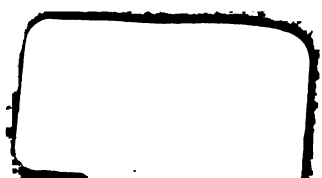

THE SOUTH SAXON SEE

AND

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHICHESTER.

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MEMORIALS OF THE

SOUTH SAXON SEE

AND

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHICHESTER.

BY THE

REV. W. R. W. STEPHENS, M.A.

PREBENDARY OF CHICHESTER, AND RECTOR OF WOOLBEDING, SUSSEX:
AUTHOR OF 'LIFE AND TIMES OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.'

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:
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To the Memory

OF

MY DEEPLY BELOVED AND GREATLY HONOURED FATHER-IN-LAW,

WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., F.R.S.

DEAN OF CHICHESTER 1859-1875,

WHO GAVE ME IN THIS, AS IN EVERY OTHER WORK,

THE MOST VALUABLE OF ALL AIDS;—

SYMPATHY:

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE INSCRIBED.

'HIS SALTEM ACCUMULEM DONIS.'

Ceiling sidar. 12 Jan. 1928

PREFACE.

I MAKE no apology for publishing Memorials of one of the lesser Sees and smaller Cathedrals of England, as if the subject itself was insignificant or small. It will be seen in the following pages that some of the Bishops who have occupied our See were among the ablest and most eminent men of their time; and as for the Cathedral, I know not that bigness is essential either to beauty or interest. The Cathedral of Chichester has been pronounced by the greatest of all authorities [1] to be structurally one of the most interesting in the country; it is certainly not one of the least beautiful, nor even, if dimensions must be taken into consideration, nearly so small as is commonly supposed, being by no means the shortest or the least lofty of our Cathedrals, and in its nave the widest of all except York Minster.

But it is the business of the Student of History to pick up everything which lies in his way, and make it as useful as he can to himself and to other inquirers; and the See and Cathedral Church of Chichester lay in my way. In almost daily walks for six years past the Cathedral has been the object on which under every aspect—whether glistening in a flood of summer sunshine, or

[1] Professor Willis, *Essay on the Cathedral*, p. 1.

standing out cold, white, clear-cut like a piece of marble, against the dark sky of a moonlit night, or brown and weather-beaten by tempestuous rains, or dimly visible amidst the clinging mists of winter—my eye has delighted to dwell : the Cathedral has been the place in which I have chiefly delighted to worship, and materials for writing the history alike of the See and of the Cathedral were contained within the Cathedral walls. Something surely might be done, and ought to be done, with those materials by one who had the opportunity and the leisure.

In fact, the history of every Cathedral Church, every Monastic House, every Parish ought to be written if possible. Each is not only interesting in itself, but if properly handled may be made more or less a valuable contribution to the general history of the country. The general historian has not time or opportunity, nor is it consistent with the scope of his work, to gather up in detail the annals of particular places. Yet in no way can the general condition of the country in past ages be brought more vividly home to our understanding and imagination than by finding out what our forefathers said and did in those very places where we now dwell, what sort of men they were, in what kind of buildings they lived or worshipped.

The way in which the local historian most commonly seems to fail is that he is either utterly ignorant of the general history of his country or else is so much absorbed in his own little sphere as to forget it. Hence he often wearies us by a microscopic scrutiny of petty details, while he passes by or misrepresents matters which if properly treated would really be good illustrations of the con-

dition of the country in past times. Thus both general and local history lose by being torn asunder.

My aim in the present work, therefore, has been to dwell more particularly on such matters as are really typical illustrations or specimens of the condition of the Church and Realm during several eras of their existence. This design is indicated by the title 'Memorials:' the book is not a history—it does not profess to relate *everything* about the See or Cathedral, but only such things as deserve more particular note. Moreover it is concerned with memorials of the *See* rather than of the *Diocese*—that is, it keeps on the whole pretty closely to the history of the Church which contained the Bishop's *Sedes* or See, and to the men who occupied that See. The succession of the Bishops, in fact, forms the thread on which the whole narrative is strung, and is not without its value as helping to prove the continuity in the life of the national Church.

Some account of the principal documents in the Muniment-room to which reference has been made in the following pages may be useful to those who shall at any time have occasion to examine the Records.

Here I cannot forbear expressing a wish, if not a hope, that the time may soon come when the contents of all Episcopal Registers and other Cathedral archives may be carefully sifted, in order that such parts as are of historical value may be printed and placed among the national records, so as to be accessible to all students of history. Such documents are replete with interesting and instructive matter, but as long as this is buried in manuscript it is available only to those who have learned the

art of reading the old handwriting, and who live near the place where the documents are kept.

The following is a list of the Bishops' Registers:

I. Register of Bishop Robert Rede, from A.D. 1397 to A.D. 1414: a large quarto marked R on the outside; contains 177 leaves, but some of these have been disordered in binding, which is very inconvenient to the reader. After Bishop Rede the Registers have been lost till we come to—

II. Bishop Praty's, marked E outside; A.D. 1438—A.D. 1445; contains 114 leaves. The handwriting is a beautiful specimen of the style of that period, and the contents are excellently arranged and indexed. After another gap we come to—

III. Bishop Storey's, part i., marked D; 1478–1502. 197 leaves; not nearly so well written as Bishop Praty's, nor so well arranged, but full of most interesting matters.

IV. A folio marked A; contains: (1) the 2nd part of Bishop Storey's Register, being only lists of his collations, institutions, etc., 36 leaves; (2) the Register of Bishop FitzJames, 1503–1506, nothing of interest; (3) the second part of Bishop Sherburne's Register, A.D. 1523—A.D. 1529.

V. Another folio, marked C; contains the 1st part of Sherburne's Register, from A.D. 1508—A.D. 1521; 159 leaves. There is a separate record of Sherburne's Benefactions called his 'Book of Donations,' the most beautifully written MS. of the whole collection.

VI. Folio marked B, the Registers of Bishops Sampson, Daye, and Scory; A.D. 1536—A.D. 1556; 110 leaves.

VII. Folio marked F, Registers of Bishops Christopherson, Barlowe, Curteys, and Bickley, A.D. 1557—A.D. 1596.

After this the Registers are continued with more regularity, but are destitute of almost all public interest, being confined to the record of ordinations, collations, institutions, etc.

VIII. Large folio L and N; is a Register of the Visitations of the Cathedral from 1675 down to the present century.

Next to the Bishop's Registers the MSS. upon which I have most largely drawn are:

I. An octavo marked A; vol. vii.; a collection of Royal and Episcopal charters, grants, statutes, etc.; 35, compiled under the direction of Bishop William Rede, A.D. 1368—A.D. 1383.

II. Another octavo, marked B, 129 leaves; also compiled in Bishop William Rede's time; contains most of the charters relating to Selsey and many more.

III. A small black quarto, marked E, also mainly of Bishop Rede's time, with additions in later times; contains extracts from lost registers, copies of statutes, memoranda of law suits, besides charters, etc. This is perhaps the most interesting of all the miscellaneous collections.

IV. A large white octavo marked Y, containing a great deal of matter identical with the contents of E; some of the charters are perhaps earlier copies than those in E.

V. Clarke's MSS., B and D; miscellaneous documents transcribed from the original MSS. in the Library of University College, Oxford.

VI. Dean's Visitation Book, beginning 1623.

VII. Dean Harward's Book of the Statutes.

VIII. The great Account-book, beginning 1555, ending 1585.

IX. Dr. Hayley's 'Great Thick Book;' contains copies of miscellaneous documents made by Dean Hayley in the 18th century.

X. 'Gibson's Miscellanea' and 'Clarke's Collectanea,' and several Books of Extracts, etc., made by Mr. Swayne.

I have to record my best thanks to the Bishop for his kindness in permitting me to have free access to the Registers and other documents relating to the See. My very special thanks also are due to the Sub-Registrar, R. G. Raper, Esq., and several gentlemen in his office, more particularly Mr. Heather, for rendering me every assistance in getting at the MSS. books as I wanted them, and for providing me with a most comfortable room in which to read them.

I have also to thank E. A. Freeman, Esq., Professor Stubbs, and the Reverend E. Venables, Precentor of Lincoln, for most kindly answering the questions I have ventured to ask them. My obligations to the invaluable works of the two former will be apparent in almost every page of the earlier part of this volume.

To Professor Swainson I am indebted for the loan of his two most useful books of notes on most of the principal collections of MSS.; to the Rev. H. Foster, Vicar of Selsey, for some topographical information, and to the Reverend F. H. Arnold, Rector of Racton, for enlightenment on some points of antiquarian interest.

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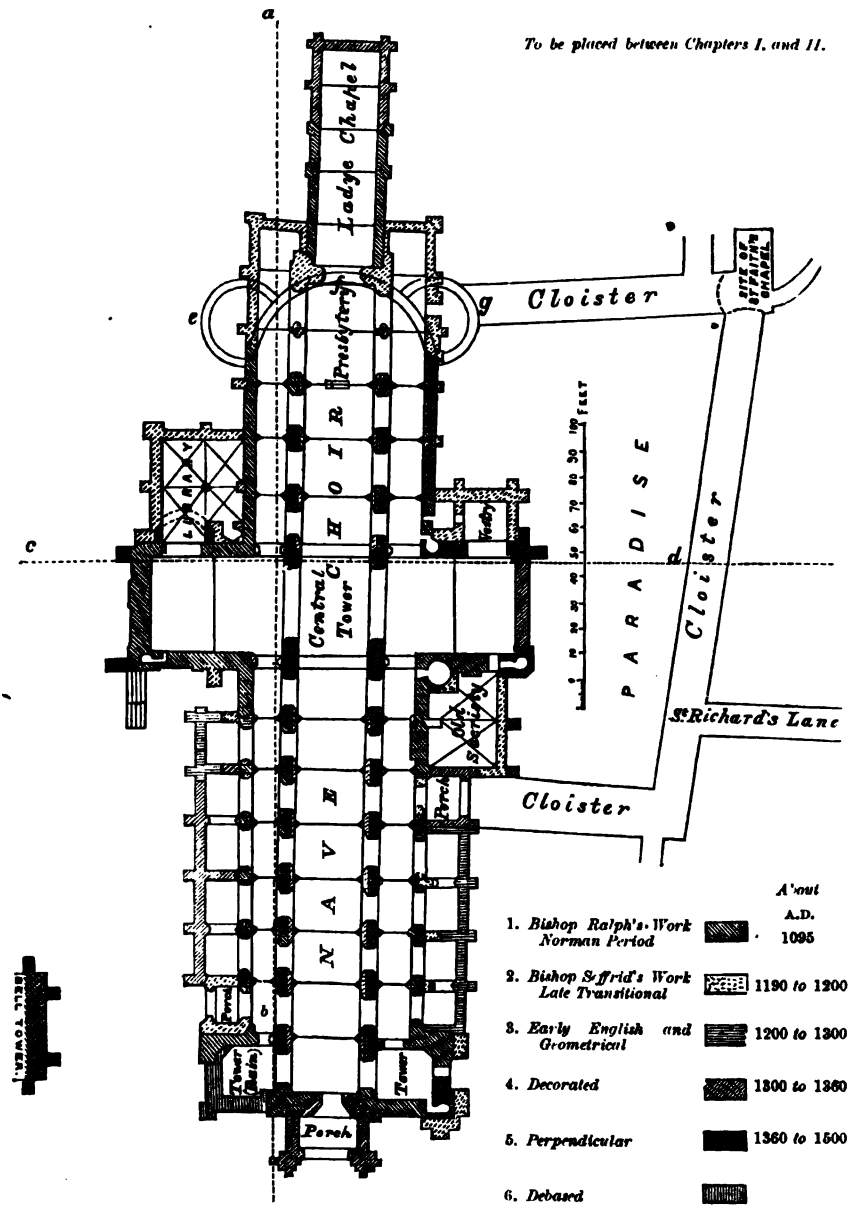

W. R. W. Stephens del.

PLAN OF CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

1875.

London: Richard Bentley & Son: 1876.

NOTE ON THE PLAN.

THE annexed ground plan is intended not only to represent historically the several stages in the construction of the Cathedral, but also to show the curious deviations from regularity which mark the whole building. The principal deviations will be apparent to any one who follows the dotted lines *a b* and *c d* as standards of direction. The inclination of the wall of the nave southwards has been concealed outside by an ingenious contrivance in the clerestory. On the north side a corbel table was made which overhangs considerably the middle or concave portion of the wall, but is thinned away gradually towards the west end, and finally dies off completely at *b* in the plan. The hollow part of the wall being thus filled up, a second corbel table has been placed above the other, and projecting beyond it, resting upon it where the wall is hollow, but resting upon the wall itself where this returns to the right line. Thus the parapet runs straight, though the wall does not, and the eye is not offended. On the south side, where the wall is convex, a sloping set-off is introduced under the parapet. The convexity of the wall is remedied by varying the inclination of this sloping part here and there as it is required. These clever contrivances are good instances of the fertility of resource which seems never to have been wanting in the days of architectural genius, and which enabled the builders to surmount all difficulties with the most masterly ease.

The letters *e f g* mark the lines of the apsidal ending and radiating chapels of the Norman choir mentioned in page 48.

THE

SOUTH SAXON SEE AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHICHESTER.

CHAPTER I.

SUSSEX AND THE ISLE OF WIGHT CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY LATER THAN THE REST OF ENGLAND; REASONS OF THIS — SETTLEMENT OF CELTIC CHRISTIANS AT BOSHAM—COMING OF WILFRITH—FOUNDATION OF EPISCOPAL SEE AT SELSEY — HISTORY OF THE SEE DOWN TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST—DESCRIPTION OF SELSEY.

BISHOPS OF SELSEY AND DATE OF ACCESSION.

	About		About
Eadberht	709	Bernege	909
Eolla	714	Wulfhun	931
Sigga	733	Ælfred	944
Aluberht	—	Eadhelm	963
Osa	765	Æthelgar	980
Gislehere	780	Ordbridht	989
Totta	785	Ælmer	1009
Wiohtun	789	Æthelric I.	1032
Æthelwulf	811	Grimketel	1039
Cenred	824	Hecca	1047
Gutheard	860	Æthelric II.	1058

Our forefathers in Sussex, together with the Jutes in the Isle of Wight, were the last to be converted to the Christian faith. When Canterbury had been the ecclesiastical metropolis for nearly a century, when almost every principality in the land, even to the extreme North,[1] had

[1] Lindisfarne was founded in 635, and Hexham in 678.

its episcopal see, the South Saxons were still wrapped in an ignorance of Christian truth as deep and dense as their own forest of Anderida. This has very commonly been regarded as a matter for surprise and perplexity; but the difficulty vanishes before a little examination into the facts of history.

First. Why was Sussex not converted by the Italian missionaries from Kent, the cradle of English Christianity? Deep as is the debt which England owes to St. Augustine and his band, it must be confessed that they do not seem to have been men endowed with eminent ability, or animated to a high degree by the spirit of enterprise and martyrdom. When the people of Kent and Middlesex relapsed into paganism, after the death of their first Christian kings, Æthelberht and Seberht, the missionaries proposed to abandon—Mellitus and Justus, the bishops of London and Rochester, actually did for a short time abandon the country.[1]

The sees of Canterbury, Rochester, London, and York, were the only direct offspring of St. Augustine's mission; and when the primate Honorius, the last survivor of the band, died in 653, that is, nearly sixty years after the original landing, two of the four sees, York and London, were lying vacant. Thus, ground had been positively lost by the Italians, and the conversion of the country was carried on by other hands.

The East Anglian king, Sigeberht, having become a Christian in Gaul, chose Felix, a Burgundian, to be the first bishop of Dunwich, in Suffolk, in 630.[2] Birinus, the apostle of Wessex, and first bishop of Dorchester,[3] in 635 was sent direct from Rome independently of the Canter-

[1] *Bede*, ii. 5. [2] *Ib.* ii. 15.

[3] Near Oxford; not to be confused with the capital of Dorsetshire.

bury settlement, and was consecrated in Italy by Asterius, bishop of Milan.[1]

The see of York, founded by Paulinus in 625, was swept away in the overthrow of Eadwine of Northumbria, by the heathen Penda, king of Mercia, in 633; but when king Oswald resuscitated Christianity in the North he did not recall the Italian bishop Paulinus from Rochester, whither he had fled, but the Celtic saint Aidan was made first bishop of Lindisfarne, A.D. 635.[2] Mercia also, the very heart of England, owed its conversion about the middle of the seventh century mainly to missionaries of Celtic origin.[3]

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Italians in Kent did not effect the conversion of Sussex, unless, indeed, there had been a close and friendly intercourse between these two regions. It is natural, then, to inquire in the second place whether this was or was not the case.

Now, in the earliest period of the English occupation of Britain, local proximity between settlements by no means implies their free and amicable intercourse; often precisely the reverse. Up to the tenth century we must not allow ourselves to think of England as in any vital sense one kingdom under one system of administration. Three great tribes of the Teutonic race, Jutes, Angles, Saxons, from the middle of the fifth century, gained, piece by piece, possession of the country. All the settlements were kindred indeed in language and blood, and to a great extent in their modes of government, yet each formed a distinct and independent state. Seven principalities emerged gradually into prominence, yet these are constantly shifting in their territory and relations to one

[1] Bede, iii. 7; *S. Chron.* [2] *Bede*, iii. 3.
[3] *Ib.* iii. 21; *S. Chron.*

another. Some kind of dominion also appears from time to time to have been acquired by the king of one principality over all the rest, but this Bretwaldadom was, till the reign of Ecgberht, of a vague and precarious character.[1] Moreover, within the principalities themselves there was much sub-division of government. Even in Wessex, where the succession of kings was particularly regular, we read of five sub-kings fighting in one battle in 626, though doubtless under a common over-lord.[2] Northumberland and Mercia were but accretions of several small states, each under its ealdorman, with little cohesion, except when held together by the powerful hand of an Ida or a Penda. In such a condition of things it is obvious that the nearest neighbours would very commonly be the bitterest foes, and we might expect to find the stream of Christianity following not the course which the shape of the country would naturally indicate, but the course of those events which politically or socially bound one kingdom with another.

Facts bear out such an expectation. Rochester was made a see next in order of time after Canterbury, not because it was so near Canterbury—indeed it is so near that we are at first inclined to wonder why a see should have been planted there at all—but because Rochester was the capital of another little kingdom, that of the West Centingas, seemingly subordinate to Æthelberht, king of the Centingas, who was content to have a see in the lesser capital of his under kingdom, as well as in his own greater capital Canterbury.[3] Again, why was London the next step in the movement of Christianity when Mellitus was con-

[1] See Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, i. c. 2, and appendix on Bretwaldadom.

[2] *S. Chron.*

[3] Kemble, *Sax. in England*, i. 148. Hook, *Archbishops*, i. c. 2. The kings of the two Kentings seem to have been commonly of the same family.

secrated first bishop of that city? Because Seberht, king of the East Saxons, was Æthelberht's nephew, and wished to adopt for himself and his subjects the religion of his uncle.[1] Once more, how came Christianity to make a stride from Kent to the distant region of Northumbria omitting the intervening regions? Because Eadwine the Northumbrian king married the Kentish king's daughter Æthelburh, who was a Christian, and Paulinus, one of the Italian missionaries, accompanied the princess as her chaplain, converted her husband, and became the first bishop of York, A.D. 625.[2]

Now no ties of marriage or political interest seem to have connected Sussex with its immediate neighbours, Kent on the one side and Wessex on the other. The Jutes of Kent made all their friendly advances in an East Anglian direction. To the West Saxons they were hostile; with the South Saxons they had no dealings. The kingdom of Sussex indeed, after its foundation by Ælle in 477, who was a powerful being, and is even called the first Bretwalda,[3] and his also powerful son Cissa, who gave his name to Regnum (Ciss-an-ceaster, Chichester) seems to have declined in importance, and relapsed into a more barbarous condition than any other principality. Over-lapped on the north, and hemmed in on the west and east by the two more powerful and ambitious kingdoms of Wessex and Kent, its strength was to sit still, avoid provoking the hostility of either, and quietly cultivate the long fertile strip of country which lay between the Downs and the great forest of Anderida on the north and the sea on the South.[4]

[1] *Bede*, ii. 3. [2] *Ib.* ii. 9. [3] *Ib.* ii. 5.

[4] Even in Strabo's time this tract was remarkable for the same sources of wealth as in modern times, corn, cattle, iron, *φέρει δὲ σῖτον, καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ σίδηρον.*

Nor was the internal condition of Kent or Wessex such as to make it likely that either would promote the conversion of Sussex, even had matrimonial or political connexions paved the way for it. Æthelberht's son Eadbald fell away for a time to paganism, and though afterwards reclaimed, he cannot have done much for the Christianity of his own kingdom, since we are told that his son Ermenred, about 640, cut down all the idols in Kent, and first established the observance of Easter.[1]

His immediate successors, Ecgberht, Hlothere, and Eadric, were mainly occupied by internal strifes. On the other side, the West Saxons were not themselves converted till 635. Cynegils, king of Wessex, was baptized by Birinus at Dorchester in 639, and Cenwealh his son in 645;[2] but their reigns were so much occupied with incessant fighting, to extend or defend the West Saxon frontier against the Welsh on the west, and the Mercians on the north, that they had no time to carry Christianity or anything else into Sussex. For a similar reason, the missionary labours of Birinus and his successors in the see of Winchester were all drawn in a direction away from Sussex. Thus, from a concurrence of causes, nearly ninety years after the landing of St. Augustine in Kent, no one had put forth a helping hand to lift the poor South Saxons out of their benighted condition; they were still heathen, still barbarous.

One little spot, indeed, there was where Christian light burned; but it was a mere taper, whose rays were quite ineffectual to dissipate the gloom of the surrounding waste of Paganism. He who stands, in the bright clearness of a summer's day, on the high ridge of the Sussex Downs,

[1] *S. Chron.* [2] *Ib.*

near their western extremity, just above that deep woody theatre known as Kingly Bottom, which Nature has scooped out of the hill-side and guarded at its entrance by a grove of yew trees of untold antiquity and fantastic shape, surveys, as he looks south and east, a lovely and varied scene. Immediately below him is spread a gently undulating, richly cultivated land, dappled by ever-shifting lights and shades, in the midst of which eastwards the old grey pile of Chichester Cathedral, with its towers and spire, solemnly rises in beautiful contrast to the bright green of surrounding meadows and trees. Southwards smile and dance the sparkling waves of the British Channel, broken in a westerly direction by the 'long wavy line' of the Isle of Wight. Several miles deep into this fertile plain the sea has wrought for itself a channel, which at high tide may be traced throughout its course gleaming like a silver thread as it winds its way among pastures, woods, and cornlands. Early in its course it cleaves itself into three branches. On the shores of one which stretches in a north-easterly direction and ends about a mile from Chichester, there is little doubt that the South Saxons under Ælle and Cissa first set foot, A.D. 477, on the soil which they so quickly and completely conquered. Another branch, stretching nearly due north, ends almost exactly opposite the stand-point of our supposed spectator, and about two miles distant from him. If a stranger, he may easily overlook, on the eastern shore of it, not far from its head, a grey church with a high-pitched roof and somewhat massive tower, capped by a shingle spire. The little village which clusters round it is scarcely visible among the trees; more conspicuous are the masts of some small trading vessels which lie alongside the quay. Yet that little village was connected with important, sometimes tragical,

events in the reigns of Cnut and Eadward the Confessor, and in the lives of Earl Godwine and Harold.[1] It is one of the four or five places which alone are marked in the oldest maps of Sussex: it is depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry as the place whence Harold embarked on the ill-fated voyage which ended in his wreck on the coast of Normandy, and his detention at the court of William.

At present it demands our attention as the one spot where Christianity had a home when all the rest of Sussex was wrapped in heathen barbarity and ignorance. Where the South Saxon chief, Boso, or Bosa, had made a little settlement, in the forest by the water-side, which came to be called after him Bosenham, and in time Bosham; there also, a Christian named Dicul, of Irish descent, presided over a little monastic retreat. When or by whom it was founded there is no record. 'Here,' in the words of Bede, 'in their tiny monastery, surrounded by woods and water, lived five or six brethren, serving the Lord in humility and poverty.' Such is the historian's brief notice of one among those waifs and strays of the early British church, which must have crept into, or lingered on in, many an obscure nook after the Teutonic flood of heathenism had swept away the main body of British Christians into more remote parts of the country. Dicul and his companions, however, had failed, if they had ever tried, to make any impression on their pagan neighbours. 'No one,' says Bede, 'cared to emulate their life or listen to their preaching.'[2]

The Apostle of Sussex came from a totally opposite

[1] For an account of Swegen's treacherous murder of his cousin Beorn at Bosham, see Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, v. ii. c. 7.

[2] *Bede*, iv. 13.

quarter, whence no one could have expected such a deliverer to arrive. It has been already noticed that Cenwealh, king of Wessex, was occupied by incessant fighting, partly with the Welsh, partly with the Mercians. Against the Welsh he was eminently successful, pushing the English border considerably further westwards; but from his Teutonic enemies, the Mercians, under their powerful king, Penda, he sustained several severe defeats, and on one occasion, according to the 'Chronicle,' was driven clean out of his kingdom.[1] The consequence of this was, that we hear of Wulfhere, son of Penda, carrying his arms in 661, not only through, but beyond the Wessex territory, and conquering the Isle of Wight.[2] This conquest Wulfhere gave to Æthelwealh, king of Sussex, who had married a Christian lady named Eabba, of Huiccian birth,[3] and had been baptized at the suggestion and in the presence of Wulfhere, himself a Christian, who thenceforth treated, it is said, Æthelwealh as his son.[4] It is not difficult to see in all this an alliance between the South Saxon and Mercian kings for the purpose of weakening the power of Wessex. The design, however, if entertained, came to nought, for Ceadwalla and Ine, the successors of Cenwealh on the throne of Wessex, overran Wight, Sussex, and even Kent; and Wessex, as is well known, continually grew till it ultimately absorbed all the other kingdoms. But for another end, and that end the conversion of Sussex, the alliance between Wulfhere and Æthelwealh was not without importance. Some twenty years after Æthelwealh

[1] Compare *S. Chron.* annis 645 and 658. [2] *S. Chron.*

[3] The Huiccas occupied Gloucestershire, east of the Severn, nearly all Worcestershire, and the southern half of Warwickshire.

[4] *Bede*, iv. 13, 'loco filii susceptus est;' probably meaning that Wulfhere stood godfather to Æthelwealh.

had married his Christian wife and had been himself converted, Providence guided into his kingdom one of the most extraordinary men of the age.

It would be beyond the purpose of this work to unravel all the threads in the tangled career of Wilfrith of York; but an outline of his life must be briefly sketched in order to explain his connexion with Sussex.[1] He was born about A.D. 630 of a good Northumbrian family, and was employed about the court in his boyhood, but withdrew, while yet a lad, with a member of the royal household, to the monastery of Lindisfarne. Here, in the dawn of manhood, he was seized by an unconquerable longing to visit the great Apostolic see at Rome. He set out; Benedict Baducing, better known as Benedict Biscop, founder of the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, was his companion. After a residence of several years in Rome and Lyons, he returned fully trained in all Roman usages, and he found Ealhfrith, son of Oswiu, king of Northumbria, inclined to adopt them. Ealhfrith made him Abbot of Ripon; Wilfrith introduced the Benedictine rule: the Scottish monks retreated rather than submit. The discord between the British and Roman usages, especially in regard to the time of keeping Easter, became so painfully felt in the Northumbrian kingdom and in the court, where the king had followed the British, and the queen the Roman rule, that a council was summoned at Whitby to settle the question. Wilfrith was the chief speaker; with commanding and vehement eloquence he vindicated the claims of the Apostolic See to set the rule for Christendom. He won

[1] This sketch has been drawn from the life of Wilfrith by his chaplain, Eddius Stephanus (Gale's edition), the earliest piece of English ecclesiastical biography we possess, upon which all later notices of his life are based. See *Lives of Archbishops of York*, by Raine, vol. i.

the day. Colman, the Scottish bishop of Lindisfarne, retired discomfited to Iona; his successor, Tuta, soon afterwards died, A.D. 664. Who should be bishop? who but the victorious Wilfrith?—common approval marked him out to be bishop of Northumbria. His episcopal throne was set up, not on the remote wave-beat shore of Lindisfarne, but in the great central city of York, where there had been no bishop since the departure of Paulinus in 633. But who was to consecrate him? Wilfrith would not deign to be consecrated by any of the bishops in England, who were either Scots or had been consecrated by Scots. He crossed to Gaul, and was consecrated with great pomp by his friend Agilberht, bishop of Paris. Twelve bishops carried their English brother in a gilded chair, and took part in the ceremony at Compiègne. Wilfrith lingered among his foreign friends; how long is uncertain, but too long for his interests at home. At last he set sail; he was driven by a tempest on the coast of Sussex: there was no King Æthelwealh then, the natives were heathen barbarians and merciless wreckers; they attacked the stranded vessel with ferocity. A heathen priest headed the attack of the barbarians; the bishop's retinue, numbering 120, resisted them bravely, while he and his clergy knelt down and prayed for their success. At last one of the bishop's party, like another David, says the biographer, smote the heathen priest a deadly blow in the forehead with a pebble. The natives, enraged at the loss of their leader, renewed the attack more fiercely; thrice they advanced but thrice they were repelled. They had withdrawn to collect more forces and prepare for a fourth attack, when the grounded vessel floated with the rising tide, the bishop and his party got to sea, and landed in safety at Sandwich.

Wilfrith lived to take a noble revenge on the South Saxons for their barbarous treatment of him. At present, he made his way to his diocese, but his see was lost. While he dallied in Gaul, the Scottish party had gained the ear of King Oswiu, and the holy Ceadda (St. Chad), a scholar of St. Aidan, had been made Bishop of Northumbria. With submissiveness, not usual in him, Wilfrith retired to Ripon, but his restless spirit found scope for its energies in founding or organising monasteries in Mercia, with the sanction and aid of the Christian king Wulfhere. In 669, Theodore of Tarsus became Archbishop of Canterbury, the first great organiser of the English Church. One of his first acts was to annul the election of Ceadda, and place Wilfrith in his see at York. The saintly Ceadda meekly retired, and was not long afterwards appointed to the see of Lichfield. Wilfrith's powers now shone forth undimmed: in private life, in study, prayer, fasting, he was the austere monk; in public, he was the munificent and princely prelate. Now was restored the cathedral of York, which had long been open to the winds and birds; the roof was leaded, the windows glazed, the walls plastered. Now arose the church of Ripon, built to a vast height of finely-hewn stones, adorned within with gold and silver, and provided with a library stored with manuscripts, transcribed and illuminated by the most skilful hands. Now arose the still more magnificent church of Hexham, which, for depth of foundations, height and length of walls, and perfection of materials, had not its peer on this side the Alps. This was the meridian of Wilfrith's prosperity; the rest of his history is a tissue of obstinate conflicts, out of which, however, arose his second connexion with Sussex, and, therefore, they must be briefly noticed. On the death of Oswiu, Ecgfrith, his son, succeeded to the throne of Northumbria.

Ecgfrith's first consort was Æthelthryth. In the excess of saintly austerity, she refused to live with her husband; she took the veil at Coldringham, and afterwards became foundress of the great monastery of Ely.[1] Wilfrith encouraged her in her unconjugal decision; he became an object of dislike to Ecgfrith, and more especially to his second queen, Eormenburh; he was represented also by courtiers as haughty, ostentatious, ambitious. In the midst of this quarrel, Archbishop Theodore was maturing his schemes for readjusting the boundaries of the English dioceses, by which he purposed to bind together the churches of the several principalities into one national church, under the supremacy of the Primate at Canterbury. Ecgfrith and his queen seized this opportunity to humble their enemy, Wilfrith. Theodore was invited to divide the diocese of Northumbria; and, pleased to have his design promoted by the king, he forgot the claims of Wilfrith to be consulted in the matter, and on his own sole authority carved out three additional sees, Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Whitherne, A.D. 678.[2] Wilfrith remonstrated, but was told, that though no fault was found with him, the arrangement could not be altered. He instantly started for Rome, to appeal to the Pope. After being wrecked on the coast of Friesland, where he tarried for some time, and carried on missionary labours with great success, he reached Rome two years after he had set out from England. Pope Agatho heard his cause, and laid it before a synod. There was a unanimous judgment in his favour; he was to be restored, Theodore's bishops

[1] She is better known by the Latin form into which her name was cast, Etheldreda or as she appears in the Roman calendar, St. Audrey; whence the word 'tawdry' originally applied to any trifle bought at the fair of St. Audrey.

[2] Whitehorn, in Galloway.

to be expelled; excommunication was pronounced against the layman, degradation against the cleric who should disregard the sentence. But the first appeal to Rome from an English bishop was met by a spirit of sturdy resistance on the part of king and people, and even the archbishop; it was the first protest of a national church in England against Papal interference. The Papal decree was an utterly vain thing. Ecgfrith and his witan in their gemot laughed it to scorn, and even hinted at the venality of the Papal court. Wilfrith was thrown into prison, and remained there nine months, till released at the request of the queen, who, with the superstition of that age, attributed a severe illness to her having stolen a reliquary which Wilfrith had brought back from Rome. He was released, indeed, but he was homeless, and the hate of his enemies pursued him: he fled to Mercia, but King Æthelred was brother-in-law of Ecgfrith, and drove him out; he fled to Wessex, but the queen of Centwine, king of Wessex, was sister of Eormenburh, and he dared not stay there. And so it came to pass that the wanderer, 'journeying still towards the south,' entered at last the territory of Æthelwealh, king of the South Saxons, nearly twenty years after he had run such a narrow risk of his life from their inhospitable treatment of him. 'The kingdom of Sussex,' says the biographer of Wilfrith, had 'hitherto been inaccessible to other provinces from the multitude of its rocks,[1] and the density of its woods.' The great forest of Anderida, which stretched across Kent and Sussex from the mouth of the Rother as far as Privet in Hampshire, and, according to the Saxon chronicle, was 120 miles long by 30 broad, must, indeed, have been a formidable barrier to inter-

[1] *Eddius*, c. 40, 'pro rupium multitudine.' It is difficult to apply this to Sussex unless Eddius meant the chalk downs.

course.[1] The arrival of Wilfrith was the introduction not only of Christianity, but of civilisation; he was probably the first Englishman of learning, refinement, and Christianity who had pierced that mighty forest-belt from the north. Æthelwealh was the friend of Wilfrith's friend, Wulfhere of Mercia; and though he had lacked energy or knowledge to propagate among his people the faith which he had himself embraced, though they were mainly still heathen and barbarous, yet with him and his Christian queen Eabba, Wilfrith might fairly hope to find a resting-place after his weary wanderings. He was not disappointed; he was courteously welcomed at the royal abode. This was not at Chichester. The early English kings, true to the tastes of their Teutonic ancestors as described by Tacitus,[2] had no liking for life in towns, and commonly resided at a distance from them. Æthelwealh's royal villa was near the point of the flat and dreary but fertile peninsula of Selsey,[3] which projects into the sea about ten miles due south of Chichester.

Here, then, the weary exiled prelate found a refuge. Æthelwealh swore to defend him against force or fraud, and Wilfrith requited him by setting to work with his accustomed energy to instruct the barbarous people, not only in Christianity, but in the simplest arts of life. Bede tells a strange tale of their ignorance of one means of livelihood in which a primitive people commonly excels. Though the sea and streams abounded with fish, they did not know, he says, how to catch anything but eels,[4] and,

[1] *S. Chron.* an. 893. See Dr. Guest's 'Early English Settlements in South Britain,' in the Salisbury number of the *Archæological Transactions*, 1849.

[2] *Mores Germanorum*, c. 16.

[3] The name Selsey (Scolesige, Selesegh, Selesey) is of uncertain origin; Bede's derivation, 'the Isle of Seals,' seems inapplicable to the place now.

[4] *Bede*, iv. 13. An explanation of this has been suggested to me, that

owing to a drought of three years' continuance, they were reduced to such extremities of famine that troops of forty or fifty at a time would join hands and cast themselves into the sea to put an end to their miserable existence. Wilfrith procured some nets, which some of his attendants cast, and had the good fortune to enclose a large draught of fishes.

The grateful people were deeply impressed with the skill of their northern visitors, and the more favourably inclined to listen to the teaching of Wilfrith. For several months did he go about the country preaching with indefatigable zeal and great success.[1] At last, a great multitude was baptized in one day, and on that day the historian affirms that the rain, so long withheld, revisited the thirsty land.[2] New vegetation and the new faith burst into life together. The king granted the peninsula of Selsey to the bishop. It contained eighty-seven families, among whom were 250 slaves of both sexes, whom he baptized and emancipated, thus liberating them, as Bede remarks, from the yoke of spiritual and temporal bondage at the same time.

The companions of Wilfrith who had attended him in his wanderings were, doubtless, a mixed body of clergy, secular and regular; probably also some monks not in orders, and other laymen in the capacity of servants. The whole body was formed into a community at Selsey, of which Wilfrith, of course, was the commanding and directing head. It may have been, probably was, organised according to some kind of monastic rule, but it never became a monastery in the strict sense of the

as on some parts of the Welsh and Irish coasts at the present day, the people had not pluck enough to fish in the open sea; the eels they could catch in the muddy channels and ditches at low tide, but they shrank from deep water. [1] *Eddius*, 40. [2] *Bede*, iv. 13; *Eddius*, 40.

word, as a community of monks; and as time went on the foundation consisted wholly of secular canons, who were never displaced to make way for regulars, either at Selsey or Chichester.[1] Thus the peninsula of Selsey, now so little known to any except resident clergy, farmers, and peasants, must have been in those days the home and centre of civilisation in Sussex. There the king had his abode; here Wilfrith built some kind of church in which was placed the bishop's 'cathedra' or 'throne'; 'stool' or 'settle' as it is called in old English; the first cathedral church in Sussex, which he dedicated, as is the parish church of Selsey at the present day, to St. Peter, doubtless in memory of his own greater cathedral church of St. Peter at York. The sphere of his work and the resources at his command were small compared with those of his northern diocese; yet we may be sure that he who restored the church of York, and built the churches of Ripon and Hexham on so grand a scale, bestowed all possible care, all available cost, on the building of the church of Selsey. Hard by the church was the home of Wilfrith and his followers, whence such of them as were clergy were sent forth by him, or accompanied him on expeditions to preach, teach, and baptize in the surrounding country.

[1] The distinction between secular and regular clergy, simple as it is, is so commonly misunderstood that it may be as well to state that the secular clergy were pastors of parishes or canons of cathedrals as in the present day, living on their benefices or in their canons' houses, and in early English times were commonly married men. They were called 'seculars,' because they lived *in sæculo* in the world as distinguished from the 'regulars,' who were monks, living according to a *regula* or rule in one building with a common dormitory and common refectory, and who were of course not married; they might be in holy orders or they might be laymen. The common error is in supposing that all clergy were monks and all monks clergy. The word *monasterium* was often used to signify any large church, whether served by seculars or regulars, and to the present day the cathedral churches of York and Lincoln and many others are called minsters (from *monasterium*), though monks never had anything to do with either.

About three years after the settlement of Wilfrith at Selsey, a revolution took place in Southern England, which swept away the kingdom of Sussex, yet in nowise diminished, but rather extended, the influence of Wilfrith himself.

Ceadwalla was of the royal race of Wessex, and had seemingly been banished by Centwine as a dangerous aspirant to the throne. He passed for some years the precarious life of an exile in the forests of Chiltern and Anderida, and when in this condition he had on some occasion been befriended by Wilfrith.[1] In 685, emboldened probably by the death of Centwine, Ceadwalla 'began to strive for the kingdom.'[2] In the following year, he and his brother Mul ravaged Kent, Sussex, and Wight.[3] Æthelwealh, the South Saxon king, fell in a battle with the invader; two of his ealdormen, Berchtun and Eandhun, doubtfully maintained the South Saxon territory for a short time longer, but after the death of Berchtun in battle, Sussex was completely and finally subdued by its more powerful neighbour. Ceadwalla, when established on the throne of Wessex, did not forget his benefactor, Wilfrith, but honoured him as one of his chief counsellors and friends. When Ceadwalla invaded the Isle of Wight, he vowed that, if successful, he would put all the Jutish inhabitants to death, substitute natives from his own West Saxon kingdom, and dedicate a fourth part of the island and spoil to God. He did succeed in subjugating the island, and fulfilled his vow of dedicating the fourth part to God by handing over 300 out of the 1,200 families contained in the island to Wilfrith for conversion to the Christian faith. Wilfrith placed this new possession under the care of his nephew, Bernuin, and a priest named Hiddila, who was to assist

[1] *Eddius*, c. 41. [2] *S. Chron.* [3] *Ib.*

in the work of teaching and baptizing.[1] Ceadwalla himself was shortly before this time converted by Wilfrith. He is a remarkable illustration of the intensely real earnest way in which Christianity, when once embraced, came home to the rough simple natures of men in those days. Ceadwalla, the wild outlaw, the fierce ravager, the merciless conqueror, when once converted, becomes a devotee. He abandoned, after two years, the kingdom for which he had striven so hard and so long, in order to make a pilgrimage to Rome, and be baptized by the Pope. He was baptized under the name of Peter, by Pope Sergius, in 689, but died before he had put off the white garments which were worn by catechumens for a week after their baptism, and was buried in St. Peter's. An epitaph in Latin verse, still extant, of more than ordinary merit for those times, was composed in his honour.[2] But before he quitted England he confirmed Wilfrith as bishop of Selsey in the possession of those lands which had been originally granted by Æthelwealh. In the charter, copies of which are extant, we may recognise the names of places which are to this day prebends of the foundation.[3]

The connexion of Wilfrith with Selsey and the South of England must have ceased almost simultaneously with

[1] *Bede*, iv. 16. What would have become of the fourth part of the inhabitants dedicated to God, if they had not been made over to Wilfrith, is not very clear. Would they have been massacred with the rest, and were they spared at the intercession of Wilfrith? But perhaps Bede means that Ceadwalla determined to *slay* all *except* the fourth part which was to be dedicated. Wilfrith's missionary labours appear to have extended to the district of the Meons in East Hampshire, which had been part of Wulfhere's gift to Æthelwealh. Vide *Archæol. Assoc. Journal* for 1845, p. 440.

[2] *Bede*, v. c. 7; *S. Chron.* an. 688.

[3] These copies, however, are long subsequent to the Norman Conquest, and cannot be relied upon as trustworthy transcripts in all particulars of the original documents. See Appendix.

the departure of Ceadwalla for Rome. Ecgfrith, his Northumbrian enemy, fell in battle A.D. 685, and Archbishop Theodore, now in extreme old age, was reconciled with Wilfrith, restored him to the favour of Æthelred, king of Mercia, and recommended him to Ealdfrith, the successor of Ecgfrith.[1] Once more Wilfrith occupies the see of York; once more he is busily engaged in founding or superintending the foundation of monasteries all over the central parts of England; yet once again his haughty uncompromising bearing and spirit involve him in quarrels with the king and the clergy. Once more the intrepid old man of seventy crosses the Alps, obtains a Papal sentence in his favour, hovers on the verge of death at Meaux, yet lives to return, to be reconciled with the Northumbrians, and to be placed not in the cathedral church of York, but in his own not less magnificent Hexham. Yet his death after all, in A.D. 709, somewhat characteristically occurs at a distance from all his sees, in the monastery which he had founded at Oundle, in Northamptonshire.[2]

After the departure of Wilfrith from Selsey, the bishopric of Sussex was vacant for several years. The clergy whom he had gathered around him remained, some residing in the home of the chapter at Selsey under their president or Abbas, others as parish priests living on the prebends which had been granted to the see. But the see itself shared for a time the fortunes of the kingdom of Sussex. As the kingdom, after the overthrow of Æthelwealh, was made an appanage of Wessex, so the see of Selsey became for a time absorbed into the see of Win-

[1] *Eddius*, 42, 43.

[2] *Ib.* 45–62. His remains were interred at Ripon, but were afterwards removed by Archbishop Odo to Canterbury, so that his wanderings did not cease with his death.

chester.[1] In temporal matters Sussex was subject to the rule of the West Saxon kings; in ecclesiastical matters it was subject to the bishops of Winchester. But this did not last long. The early history of the see of Selsey is a good illustration of the principles on which the constitutional divisions of the country were regulated in early English times. As kingdom after kingdom was converted, a bishopric was established in each; but these kingdoms generally comprised within themselves other smaller and dependent kingdoms, and as Christianity advanced bishoprics were established co-extensive with these sub-kingdoms. Such was the case, as we have seen, in Kent: there were two kingdoms, East and West Kent; there were therefore two sees, Canterbury and Rochester. In like manner, the great kingdom of Wessex, being an aggregate of several lesser kingdoms, contained also, as Christianity grew, several dioceses corresponding mainly with the lines of these sub-kingdoms. As the greater kingdoms were an aggregate of smaller ones, so these again were originally made up of shires, and the shires were made up of marks. The lesser kingdoms became in time all absorbed into the greater, until England became one kingdom; the shires remained, but only as administrative divisions. As the dioceses were commonly co-extensive with the lesser kingdoms, so were parishes with townships.[2] Now Sussex, though it may have been originally an aggregate of small shires, was too small to contain within itself dependent kingdoms; it was first an independent kingdom, then a dependency of Wessex, finally a shire. The fortunes of the see exactly correspond with these changes: it was in abeyance for

[1] *Bede*, iv. 15.

[2] Kemble, *Saxons in England*, ii. c. 7, 8, 9. Though a parish was often made up of a cluster of small townships, it is not common to find a township partly in one parish, partly in another.

a time, when Sussex fell under the dominion of Wessex; it was then revived, and became first the see of the sub-kingdom and afterwards of the shire. Thus Sussex is the one instance in England where the boundaries of kingdom, sub-kingdom, shire, and diocese have coincided from the very earliest times.

For about fifteen years, then, after the departure of Wilfrith, Sussex remained ecclesiastically as well as temporally dependent on Wessex. On the death of Hedda, bishop of Winchester, in A.D. 705, King Ine, the successor of Ceadwalla, determined with his witan to divide the diocese, which had grown to an unwieldy size owing to the great extension of the West Saxon kingdom. A new see was accordingly erected at Sherborne.[1] This took in all the north-western portions of Wessex, namely, a part of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and as much of Somersetshire as had been gained from the Welsh, leaving the rest of Wiltshire, Hampshire, Berkshire, Surrey, and Sussex still under Winchester.[2] On the death of the saintly Ealdhelm, the first bishop of Sherborne, a third division was effected by the revival of the see of Selsey, and Eadberht, president of Wilfrith's brotherhood at Selsey, was consecrated bishop, A.D. 709. Eadberht was succeeded by Eolla, after whose death the see lay vacant again for several years, down at least to the time when Bede wrote his history, that is, about A.D. 731.[3] A few facts mentioned in the 'Chronicle' may perhaps partly account for this suspension. Daniel, bishop of Winchester, went to Rome in A.D. 720, and in A.D. 722 and A.D. 725 King Ine was at war with Sussex, when some attempt to recover independence was made under the Ætheling Ealdbriht.

[1] *Bede*, v. c. 18.

[2] William of Malmesbury makes a different division, but it is not justified by the evidence of contemporary documents.

[3] *Bede*, v. 18.

Then in A.D. 728 Ine himself abdicated and went to Rome. Thus the persons most interested in providing for the see of Sussex were for various reasons employed in other directions. In 733, however, in the reign of Ine's successor, another bishop, Sigga by name,[1] was consecrated to Selsey, who was present at the great and important ecclesiastical council held at Clovesho in 747, under Archbishop Cuthberht, when many provisions were made to try and stem the tendency to relaxation of discipline which, especially in the monasteries, was beginning to corrupt the Church.[2] After this time the only references to the see of Selsey for a considerable period occur in charters, from which we are able to see that Christianity was continually advancing and developing itself in Sussex in the same manner as in other parts of the country. The charters are for the most part grants of land from the kings of Wessex, or their under-kings in Sussex, either to the see of Selsey or to private individuals for the purpose of planting monasteries. The relations also of Sussex and Wessex ecclesiastically and politically to one another and to the rest of the country may clearly be collected from a study of these charters. The usual signatures in attestation of the Selsey charters during the latter part of the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries are, in addition to those of the bishops of Selsey and sub-kings of Sussex, the signatures of the kings of Wessex and bishops of Winchester.[3] During the latter half of the eighth century, on the contrary, the might of Offa, king of Mercia, who raised that kingdom to a higher position than it had ever occupied, who had even succeeded in making the see of

[1] Probably like Odda, Podda, Dudda, Bubba, Tudda, a nickname. *Vide* Kemble on 'Anglo-Saxon Names,' *Archæol. Inst.*, 1845.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. iii.

[3] Kemble, *Codex Diplom.* Nos. 995, 999, 1000.

Lichfield for a little time an archbishopric, who founded the abbey of St. Alban's and the church of St. Peter's at Bath, who corresponded with Charles the Great on terms of equality, had completely overshadowed the kingdom of Wessex. His name, therefore, and that of his successor, Cenwulf, frequently appear in the Sussex charters, and the attesting bishops are commonly those of the Mercian sees—Dorchester, Worcester, Lichfield, and Hereford.[1] Towards the close of the eighth century, as Sussex became more and more completely under the yoke of the greater kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex, the grantors no longer sign themselves as kings, but as 'duces' of the South Saxons.[2]

In A.D. 825, at the great council of Clovesho, held under Beornwulf, king of Mercia, and attended by the archbishop of Canterbury and his twelve suffragans, a dispute of long standing between the kings of Mercia and the bishops of Selsey concerning land at Denton, which the king claimed for the monastery of Beddingham and the bishop maintained to be an old possession of the see of Selsey, was finally settled in favour of the see.[3]

This deed of agreement, signed by Beornwulf, and by Cenred, bishop of Selsey, marks the transition from the supremacy of the Mercian kingdom to that of Wessex. The great battle of Ællandun, in which Ecgberht gave a fatal blow to the power of Mercia, had been fought in A.D. 823; and the next occasion on which a document of importance is signed by Cenred of Selsey (one in which lands at Shalfleet, in the Isle of Wight, are granted to the see of Winchester), was the great gemot of Kingston, in A.D. 838, when the Primate and the clergy of Kent

[1] *E.g.* Kemble, *Cod.*, 1001, 1009, 1010, 1012, 1016, 1023.

[2] *Ib.* 1012, 1015, 1016; that is probably ealdormen.

[3] *Haddan* and *Stubbs*, sub an. 825. *Cod. Dipl.* 1023 and 1034.

agreed to a formal treaty of peace and alliance with Ecgberht and his son Æthelwulf, whom he had appointed under-king of Kent.[1] Wessex, under Ecgberht, but still more under Alfred and his successors, gradually absorbed all England, and though there were kings of Mercia for another half-century, they were mere shadows of their former greatness—mere under-kings of the West Saxon over-lord—and their names disappear from all documents relating to South Saxon affairs.

The death of Ecgberht, A.D. 839, is followed by that dreary period of Danish invasion, when almost all public business except fighting was at a standstill, till Alfred won his glorious victory of Ethandun in A.D. 878, and the peace was made at Wedmore, by which the Danes were restricted to the occupation of the country north of Watling Street as vassals of the West Saxon king. The extreme paucity of Selsey charters during this period is an indication of that suspension of business of a peaceful character which prevailed throughout the country. Between A.D. 838 and A.D. 909, the only signature extant by a bishop of Selsey, the only indication, indeed, of the existence of a bishop, is the signature of Bishop Gutheard, which occurs between A.D. 860 and A.D. 862.[2] Very possibly the see may have lain vacant during part of these troublous times. In the final struggle with the Danes, which occupied the last five years of Alfred's reign, a Danish army, which had been repulsed from Exeter, 'harried on the South Saxons' near Chichester in A.D. 895, but were put to flight by the citizens, and many of their ships were taken;[3] yet Selsey is not mentioned in this or any other account of Danish inroads in Southern England. Very probably the situation of the cathedral at the extremity of a peninsula, with an

[1] *Haddan* and *Stubbs*, sub an. 838.
[2] *Cod. Dipl.* 285. [3] *S. Chron.*

open shore in front and a marshy, woody country behind, was its protection. The channel which now runs several miles inland, just east of the village, was not formed till an irruption of the sea took place in 1345; and the Danes, as a rule, seem to have crept up rivers and creeks where they could moor or haul up their vessels in security. Such an inlet was Chichester harbour; up this they probably made their way as the original Saxon leaders Ælle and Cissa had done. Chichester was, then, naturally the first place to be attacked, but here, as just mentioned, they were repulsed. The see of Selsey was very likely vacant, and the chapter was probably small; and, being a secular foundation, and many of the members living as married men dispersed upon their several prebends, the attention of the spoilers would not be so much attracted as it was to the establishments of regulars, where the brethren lived together as one community in the midst of their possessions, and in buildings on a larger scale. Thus, partly from situation, partly from its poverty, partly from the nature of the establishment, Selsey escaped the fate which befell Thetford in Norfolk, Crowland, Peterborough, and Ely.

It was in this period of Danish invasion, the latter half of the ninth century, that the life of the early English Church had reached its lowest ebb; the first impulse of zeal which attended the conversion of the country had died away. Monastic discipline had been relaxed or abandoned, and monastic learning had declined in the age which succeeded the bright days of Bede, Wilfrith, and Theodore. Alfred laments that in the beginning of his reign there were few monks who could read the works with which their shelves had been richly stored by their more studious and learned predecessors.[1] Indeed, there were few monks

[1] Letter of Alfred to Wulfsige, apud Walk. *Vit. Alfr.*, p. 196. Wise's

left to read them, for monasticism had almost died out in England. The twilight which had been settling down upon the country during the latter part of the eighth century was extinguished by the devastations of the Northmen in the ninth, and faded away into a night of profound ignorance. But with the establishment of Alfred's power, and still more that of his son and grandson, life and light were brought back to the Church and realm. Alfred invited learned men to the country—John of Saxony; Grimbald, of St. Bertin's; Asser, from St. David's, in Wales. Plegmund, the learned hermit of Chester, was made archbishop of Canterbury, and under him a spirit of work was revived in the Church. Once more, in A.D. 909, the dioceses of Wessex were divided by the creation of the movable see of Ramsbury and Sunning, for Wiltshire and Berkshire; Wells for Somersetshire; Crediton for Devonshire and Cornwall, and, with the bishops consecrated to those sees by Plegmund, was consecrated also Bernege to be bishop of Selsey.

In the prosperous days of Alfred's grandsons, the 'glorious Athelstan,' the 'magnificent Eadmund,' and his great-grandson, the 'peaceful Eadgar,' the Church recovered literally and morally from her prostrate condition; the monasteries of Ely, Peterborough, Thorney, Crowland, and many more, rose from their ashes; under Archbishops Odo and Dunstan, and Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, the monastic orders were rigorously reformed, and in Winchester and Worcester the secular clergy were displaced to make room for regulars;[1] and though the other cathedral establishments remained in possession of seculars down to the Conquest, attempts were made to reform many of them according to the rule of

Asser, p. 61. See on this whole subject Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, vol. ii. c. 12.

[1] Hook, *Archb.*, vol. i.

Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, by which the life of secular canons was assimilated as much as possible to that of monks.[1] Æthelgar, who became bishop of Selsey in 980, was one of the many prelates eminent for learning and strict enforcement of monastic discipline who had been trained at Glastonbury. Yet, though brought up in this great monastic school of Dunstan, and though employed by Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, first as a monk at Abingdon, afterwards as abbot of Newminster, at Winchester, to assist him in his schemes of monastic revival and reform, it is remarkable that Æthelgar, when elevated to the see of Selsey, did not displace the secular canons and substitute regulars. Perhaps he had been shocked by the harshness and violence with which Æthelwold had turned out the seculars at Winchester; or, possibly, the condition of the establishment at Selsey was so satisfactory as not to justify any radical change. Æthelgar administered the see of Selsey for eight years, after which he was translated to Canterbury, the only bishop of Selsey who was ever raised to that exalted position, and which he occupied for less than one year.[2]

The administration of Æthelgar and his two successors at Selsey, Ordbriht and Ælmer, roughly coincides with the disastrous reign of the unhappy and 'unready' Æthelred.[3] Selsey is not mentioned in the national annals of this period; but the bishop of Selsey must have always trembled, and the lands belonging to the see must have often suffered, when the Danes crossed year by year

[1] None of these attempts, however, were very successful: Archbishop Wulfred at Canterbury in the ninth century, Giso of Wells and Leofric of Exeter in the eleventh, only partially and temporarily carried their points; the chief stumbling blocks were the common refectory and common dormitory, most of the seculars being at this period married men. *Vide* Stubbs, *De Inventione Crucis*. Freeman, *Hist. of Wells Cathedral*, pp. 30–33.

[2] Hook, *Archb., Vit. Æthelgar*. [3] A.D. 976–1016.

from their favourite winter quarters in the Isle of Wight to the mainland; and what fearful thoughts of the murder of the archbishop Ælfeah, at Canterbury, by these ferocious spoilers, must have thrilled with horror and terror the hearts of the bishop and canons, when they saw the vessels of the 'heathen men' sailing across from Wight, and making for the harbours of Chichester and Bosham. But the ravagers, having landed on the shores of these inlets, left the quiet little establishment at Selsey, on the point of its peninsula, unmolested, and penetrated further inland, intent on higher, richer spoil. They plundered Winchester, Wilton, Old Sarum, Reading, Wallingford, and then returned with their booty to their old asylum, the Isle of Wight.[1]

The miseries of Danish invasion were brought to an end by the election of Cnut the Dane to the throne, 1017–1035. The Church, especially in southern and central England, enjoyed a full share of the benefits of his wise and able administration. Besides the church which he built and endowed for a college of seculars at Assandun to commemorate his great final victory over Eadmund Ironside, he rebuilt the church of Bury St. Edmunds, he confirmed the privileges of Glastonbury, he translated the body of the murdered archbishop Ælfeah from London to the metropolitan cathedral at Canterbury, he was the liberal benefactor of Ely, Ramsey, and Winchester.[2] These must have been prosperous times too for Selsey; for Godwine, the mighty Earl of Wessex, and friend of the king, had a residence at Bosham, and Æthelric, the bishop of Selsey, was the intimate friend of the archbishop 'Æthelnoth the Good,'

[1] *S. Chron.* sub an. 979–1016; Hook, *Vit. Archb. Ælfeah.* Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, i. p. 352.

[2] Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, i. 435.

who had baptized Cnut, and advised and encouraged him in all his good works. So deep indeed was the attachment on the part of Æthelric, that he prayed he might not outlive the Primate, and he actually did not survive him more than a week. Even in death the friends 'were not divided,' for Æthelric, as well as Æthelnoth, was buried in Canterbury cathedral.[1]

The name of his successor, Grimkill, or Grimketel (A.D. 1039),[2] is thoroughly Danish, and, in the reign of Eadward the Confessor, Selsey was perhaps not thought worthy to be bestowed by the feeble and foolish king on his foreign favourites. It was into the greater sees of London, Dorchester, and Canterbury itself that Eadward, to his shame, thrust his Norman friends, and paved the way for the Norman Conquest. Hecca, however, successor to Grimketel at Selsey (A.D. 1045), was one of the royal chaplains, so that, if not a foreigner himself, it may be presumed he was not adverse to the king's Normanizing ways.[3] Hecca was succeeded in 1058 by another Æthelric, a monk from Canterbury; the last bishop of Selsey, properly so called, for his successor, Stigand, is connected rather with Chichester than Selsey, though for the first five years of his episcopate the see remained at Selsey, and no doubt he had his throne and residence there for some time after the decree for the removal of the see, whilst the new buildings at Chichester were being erected.

As at Dunwich in Suffolk, so at Selsey, the ancient cathedral and bishop's palace have been overwhelmed by

[1] Hook, *Vit. Æthelnoth.*

[2] William of Malmesbury says he was turned out of the East Anglian see for simony, and yet repeated the sin by purchasing the see of Selsey. His name, however, does not appear in the lists of East Anglian bishops.

[3] *S. Chron.*

the encroachments of the sea. The little fleet of the Selsey fishermen now rides at anchor near that part of the water which is called the Bishop's Park; and a strip of the shore, washed by the waves of the Bishop's Park, and covered with small brushwood, is still called the Bishop's Coppice. North-east of the Bishop's Coppice, on a gentle eminence overlooking the harbour, stands the little chancel of the parish church, a forlorn weather-beaten fragment, built in the simplest Early-English style. The neighbourhood of the churchyard, and the church itself, is full of stonework beneath the soil, but whether these are the remains of the episcopal buildings or of the old town cannot be determined without further diggings and searchings than have been attempted yet. The site of the cathedral is doubtless washed by the waves; Camden says that the foundations were visible at low water, but there is no trace of them now.

The present village is two miles distant from what was the old parish church, and the nave of it was therefore taken down a few years ago and rebuilt in the village stone for stone, with a new chancel. The old forsaken chancel, however, is still used for burials and baptisms, and the extremely far older font may fairly be coeval with the removal of the see to Chichester, and, therefore, may probably have stood in the ancient cathedral of Selsey. Relics, treasures, and works of art were no doubt for the most part removed to Chichester when the bishop's throne was transplanted there. Among these we may perhaps venture to include the quaint, rude, yet forcible pieces of sculpture representing the 'Raising of Lazarus,' of which an illustration is subjoined.[1] They were discovered in 1829 behind the stalls of the choir in the present cathedral. Not improbably they had

[1] After Appendix to Chapter I.

been concealed there to escape the soldiers of Waller, who, during the siege of Chichester in 1643, made havoc of the cathedral monuments with their pikes and pole-axes.

Here, then, end the annals of the see of Selsey. In this, as in so many periods of history for which the materials are scanty, it is difficult to realise the space of time which we have been traversing. It requires an effort of mind to grasp the idea that there were twenty-two bishops of the South Saxons who had their cathedral church on the storm-beat shore of Selsey for three hundred and fifty years, as long a period as that which separates the reign of Queen Victoria from the reign of Henry VIII. Yet, from these scanty notices of even so small a see as Selsey, we might fairly discover some of the main principles on which the constitution of the early English Church and nation was based. To begin with: the very signatures of the bishops, or the bare mention of them in the 'Chronicle,' are instructive; for thus we learn that as the kings were kings of the *people*, not lords of the *land*, so the bishops were bishops of the *people*, not of any particular city. 'Bishop of the South Saxons,' rather than 'bishop of Selsey,' is the title by which they are almost always designated. The early English bishops were not, like their brethren on the Continent, the bishops of some great city with a certain amount of the surrounding country, great or small, of which that city was the head and centre; they were the bishops of a people or tribe, the South Saxons, the Dorsœtas, the Sumorsœtas, as the case might be. The limits of their diocese were fixed not by the civil jurisdiction of a city, but by the territory which their people occupied; they moved freely for missionary and organising work up and

down within these limits; only in some one spot, and that usually the spot, were it town or village, in which they had first obtained a settlement, they had a home for themselves and their staff of clergy, and a church which, from containing their cathedra or bishopstool, was called their cathedral church, and was their 'sedes,' or 'see' properly so called, as distinguished from the diocese.

Again, from the records of the Selsey bishopric alone, we may learn that bishops before the Conquest were appointed commonly either by the king and his witan or by the king alone; also that they sat in the witanagemots, which took cognizance of spiritual as well as secular affairs; that they sat side by side with the ealdorman in the scirgemot (shire meeting); that they attended the great ecclesiastical synods held by the primate; and that they held their own diocesan synods twice a year, which all their clergy were bound to attend, when clerical offenders were tried, and the affairs of the diocese discussed and settled. We may learn also how the country districts were gradually brought under the power of Christianity by the planting of monasteries, and that upon the lands granted to the monasteries or to the sees, the parish churches of England gradually arose, and the parish clergy of England were gradually called into existence. Lastly, we may learn how completely the Church was an integral part of the State, so that Church and State were only different aspects of one and the same thing, like the two sides of a coin. The temporal and the ecclesiastical powers worked hand in hand without jealousy or strife for the preservation of the people in body and soul: if the temporal power declined, the ecclesiastical languished also; if temporal prosperity increased, a corresponding provision was always made for the spiritual wants of the people. It must be

confessed with shame that in this respect, even in this age of activity in religious works, we can scarcely rival, certainly not surpass, the zeal of our early forefathers before the Norman conquest.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

Two copies exist among the cathedral documents of the charter of Ceadwalla to Wilfrith. As they exhibit several variations, and the handwriting cannot be much earlier than the latter part of the fourteenth century, it is obvious that their value as representatives of the original document cannot be very high. They are, probably, copies of copies of copies; but after making all allowances for carelessness or fraud, they must contain considerable fragments of the original, supposing such an original ever to have been made, and even if it was not, and that they are forgeries from beginning to end, still they illustrate very well what we know from other specimens of undoubted authenticity to have been the *form* in which such charters were drawn up before the Conquest. I, therefore, have transcribed one of the copies, which is as follows [*Cathedr. MS.*, Lib. B.]:—

'In nomine Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi. Nihil intulimus in hunc mundum, verum nec auferre quid possumus: idcirco terrenis et caducis æterna et cælestia supremæ patriæ præmia mercanda sunt. Quapropter ego Ceadwalla, disponente domino rex, rogatus a venerando Wilfrido episcopo uti sibi aliquantulam terram ad suffragium famulorum Christi quo vitam cœnobialem degant et ad construendum monasterium in loco qui vocatur Seolesige pro relaxatione criminum et perpetui præmii receptaculo largiri dignarer, cujus precibus annuens eamdem terram de quâ suggerere videbatur, pro remedio animæ meæ libenter impendo; id est 55 tributarios in illis locis qui vocantur Seolesige, Medemenige, Wightringes, Icchenore, Bridham, Egesande, simulque Bessenheie, Brunesfaston, et Sidlesham cum aliis villis sibi cohærentibus et cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus. Necnon terram illam quæ appellatur Aldingbourne et Lydesige

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THE RAISING OF LAZARUS (*see page* 31).

6 cassatos: et in Geinstedisgate 6, et in Mundham 8, in Amberle et Hohtun 8, et in Valdhan 4 id est 32 tributariorum, cum consensu Wilfridi Achiepiscopi,[1] et Æthwaldi subreguli, cæterorumque episcoporum, ducum, optimatumque Anglorum in potestatem propriæ donationis dabo. Si quis vero contra hæc decreta firmiter statuta contraire et solvere conatus fuerit, noverit se ante tribunal examinis Christi rationem redditurum et habere partem cum Juda traditore domini in inferno inferiori.

'Scripta autem hæc cartula anno ab Incarn. Dom. 673 indict. xi. mensis Aug. die iii.'

This date, A.D. 673, is too early for the facts by thirteen years at least, and the subscriptions in attestation of the charter involve anachronisms fatal to the trustworthiness of the document.

Not only does Wilfrith sign as archbishop, but Brihtwald as primate, who was not made primate till 693, and there are some other signatures of bishops whom I have not been able to identify at all.

[1] The see of York was not made archiepiscopal till 735; hence the use of the title Archbishop is alone enough to prove that this document is not the faithful copy of an original.

CHAPTER II.

REMOVAL OF THE SEE FROM SELSEY TO CHICHESTER—BISHOP ÆTHELRIC AT THE COUNCIL ON PENENDEN HEATH—STIGAND THE FIRST BISHOP OF CHICHESTER—CATHEDRAL OF BISHOP RALPH LUFFA—HILARY'S CONTEST WITH THE ABBEY OF BATTLE: HIS PART IN THE BECKET CONTROVERSY.

Bishops.	Accession, A.D.	Contemporary Kings.
Stigand	1070	William the Conqueror.
Godfrey	1087	William Rufus.
Ralph Luffa	1091	William Rufus. / Henry I.
Seffrid d'Escures	1125	Henry I. / Stephen.
Hilary	1147	Stephen. / Henry II.
John [Greenford ?]	1174	Henry II.

THE present chapter and the next together cover the period which reaches from the Norman conquest to the reign of Edward I. The history of any see in England between these dates deserves careful attention, because during that era the framework of our political constitution was settled. The clergy, led by their bishops, had no mean share in the work of forming the constitution, and in the annals of a single see we may find illustrations of what was going on throughout the country at large. Among the bishops of Chichester we are supplied with good specimens of each of the three main schools into which the clergy of that age may be divided. We have the pure ecclesiastic in Bishop Hilary, the mingled statesman and churchman in Bishop Ralph Neville, and

the pure saint in Bishop Richard of Wych. Directly or incidentally, too, the history of our see illustrates most of the salient features in the growth of the church and realm during these two memorable centuries. We shall be able to observe the effect of the division between the secular and spiritual courts of justice made by the Conqueror, the relation of the bishops to the king, partly as feudal lords, partly as state officials in the capacity of secretaries; we shall see the pre-eminence of the clergy as lawyers, as defenders of national liberty against the tyranny and exactions alike of kings and popes; as the representatives of good order and government when, as in Stephen's reign, all other administration collapsed; as the proclaimers of mercy, justice, and purity, often as living examples of holiness, in an age of much immorality and violence. We shall see instances of the struggle for independence on the part of the monasteries, and the growing tendency among all parties to refer religious disputes to the arbitration of the pope; we may notice the rise and progress of the mendicant orders, Dominicans and Franciscans; the ever-increasing splendour of church architecture and church ceremonial, the gradual advance of papal pretensions and Roman doctrine.

The first point which demands our attention is of course the removal of the see from Selsey to Chichester after the Conquest. This fact alone is no small indication of the change wrought in the country at large by the Norman conquest. The acquisition and defence of land is eminently characteristic of the purely English people, and of the Teutonic race in general. Not the city but the country regulated their habits of life and the character of their institutions. After the English occupation of Britain, many of the Roman-British cities became deserted and fell into decay. We hear less of cities than of tribes,

kingdoms, shires, marks, hides, and many more terms relating to the division of land. In each newly-converted district in England the first bishop commonly planted his church and the home of his clerical staff, the centres of his missionary labours, near some royal dwelling, for the sake of the king's protection and aid. This was often, as in the case of Selsey, at a distance from any considerable town. As the king moved from one royal abode to another within his kingdom, so the bishop moved from one episcopal manor-house to another within his diocese; and even his 'throne,' 'stool,' or 'settle,' seems not always to have been fixed in the same church.[1] Towns often grew up round the cathedral church or the larger monasteries of a diocese, as at Wells and St. Edmundsbury; but the sees were not originally placed in great towns, as was the case on the Continent. Just as the kings were not so much lords of the soil as leaders of their people—kings of the 'West Saxons' or of 'the English' rather than 'Kings of Wessex' or 'of England'—so the bishops were spiritual fathers of their flocks, rather than spiritual rulers of a particular city and its surrounding territory.[2]

After the Norman conquest a great change took place. The age of building sets in; the fortification of towns, the erection of castles, fortresses, and churches often so solidly constructed as to be capable of use, if required, as fortresses. The government of the country is worked from a number of small centres, all clustering round and subordinate to the monarch himself as the centre of the whole. William

[1] As in the case of the see which seems to have rested sometimes at Ramsbury in Wiltshire, sometimes at Sunning in Berkshire, and was ultimately joined to Sherborne shortly before the Norman conquest. A bishop of Wiltshire is first mentioned in the Chronicle, A.D. 870.

[2] See Freeman's *Norm. Conq.* vol. i. Appendix M. and vol. iv. p. 415.

the Conqueror crowns the apex of the social fabric, not so much in the character of leader or father of the race as ruler of the land. The great earldoms of Cnut's days were swept away, and parcelled out among a number of the Conqueror's followers on the usual feudal conditions of service. The government of the shires was placed in direct dependence on the Conqueror through the office of shirereeve, and all the officers of government were nominated by him and responsible to him[1]. The bishops were not exempt from feudal obligations; they were appointed by the king in his great courts, and as feudal barons of the realm it was clearly desirable that they should be invested with a position of dignity and security. As long as the bishops had been Englishmen appointed by the king and the witan to exercise spiritual supervision within certain territorial boundaries, it mattered little where within those boundaries they fixed their dwelling and their throne; but when they came to be foreigners and nominees of a foreign king, they became by position, whatever they might be in character, spiritual *governors* rather than spiritual *fathers*, and even in some degree *temporal* governors like other feudal lords, and, as such, it was natural, almost necessary, that they should reside not in the quiet secluded village in the open country, but in the chief fortified town of the diocese. The tribal designation is now gradually dropped and supplanted by the urban, taken from the name of the town where the see is fixed.

The Conqueror had been partly anticipated by Eadward the Confessor in the work of displacing English bishops and substituting foreigners. Hereford, Wells, Ramsbury, Exeter, and London had been handed over to

[1] Stubbs's *Select Charters*, pp. 15, 16.

foreigners, Normans or Lotharingians, before the Conquest; York, Dorchester, and Lichfield became vacant by death just about the time of William's accession; the bishop of Durham was banished for treasonable conduct. Only three direct depositions were made by William. Stigand the primate was removed and imprisoned to make way for Lanfranc. The chief offences alleged against him were that he had illegally held the see of Winchester in plurality with Canterbury, and had received his pallium from the usurping pope, Benedict X. Æthelmær bishop of Elmham, his brother, shared his fate, and Æthelric of Selsey, who, as consecrated by Stigand, might be regarded as involved in his schismatic position. Thus, from a concurrence of causes, by the end of the year 1070 the only sees which retained native bishops were Rochester and Worcester. Stigand, Æthelmær, and Æthelric then were all deposed in the year 1070.[1] Æthelric and several abbots were deposed in a synod held by Ermenfrid, one of the three papal legates who came to England after the Conquest. Another Stigand, one of the king's chaplains, was appointed to Selsey, and was one of the nine bishops who assisted at the consecration of Lanfranc as primate. Æthelric was placed in confinement at Marlborough. The deposition of Æthelric seems to have been generally regarded as one of the least reasonable or justifiable changes made by William. Florence of Worcester declares the sentence of the legate to have been uncanonical, and Pope Alexander himself, in a letter to William, says that the case of the bishop does not seem to him to have been fully and satisfactorily dealt with.[2]

He soon reappears in an honourable position on a memorable occasion.

[1] *Sax. Chron.* Stubbs's *Constit. Hist.*, i. 282. [2] *Giles*, i. 31.

The earldom of Kent was conferred by the Conqueror on his half-brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and during William's first visit to Normandy after the Conquest, Odo was left as joint vicegerent of the kingdom with William Fitz Osbern. The king returned to find the people irritated and the country exhausted by the tyranny and extortions of these men. Churches had been ransacked, and much of the church land had been seized by Odo and his rapacious followers. Lanfranc, on the return of the king, lost no time in seeking redress for these wrongs. He first obtained a mandate from William commanding in general terms the restitution of church property; and then he summoned Odo to restore the possessions of the see of Canterbury in obedience to the mandate. Though the accused was the second personage in the realm, the king manifested a praiseworthy determination to see full justice done in conformity with old English law, which, to his credit, he was ready when possible to maintain. He summoned a scirgemot for Kent, to meet on Penenden Heath, and he particularly required the presence of the English as being best acquainted with the English laws and the customs of the country. Some one recommended Æthelric, the deposed bishop of Selsey, to William, as being a man most profoundly versed in ecclesiastical law. He had also been a monk of Canterbury, so that he was the more qualified to speak on matters relating to that see, and trustworthy oral testimony was especially valuable owing to the great destruction of the charters of the see in the fire of 1067.[1] Æthelric was now in extreme old age, and by the king's order he was conveyed from Marlborough to Canterbury in a wagon or carriage of some sort drawn by four horses. The result of the trial on

[1] Eadmer, *Angl. Sacr.*, ii. 188.

Penenden Heath was that, after three days' pleadings, Odo was compelled to make restitution of the lands, and partly through the aid of Æthelric's testimony and learning the rights and liberties of the see of Canterbury over those lands were clearly defined; the king's right of interference being restricted to cases of crime committed on such parts of his highways as ran through the land.

The organizing spirit of Lanfranc is testified by the number of ecclesiastical councils, six in all, held during his primacy. Five years after Stigand's elevation to the see of Selsey, the great Council of London, A.D. 1075, was held in St. Paul's. It was a large and purely ecclesiastical assembly. Lanfranc presided; fourteen bishops, including Stigand, were present, and twenty-one abbots. The decrees of the council embrace a wide range of matters trivial and important. The only one with which we are concerned is that which was passed by the king's sanction for the removal of episcopal sees from villages to towns. In the acts of the council, this decree is said to have been made in obedience to the decrees of the ancient councils of Sardica and Laodicea, and also of Popes Damasus and Leo, which prohibited the establishment of sees in mere villages. It definitely marks the abandonment of the old English in favour of the Continental system of bishoprics mentioned above. By the Council of London, then, Herman, bishop of Sherborne, was transplanted to Old Sarum, Stigand of Selsey to Chichester, and Peter of Lichfield to Chester. The case of other sees in a similar position was reserved for the decision of the king, who was now in Normandy; but except the temporary removal of the see of Elmham to Thetford, in 1078, no further changes took place till after

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, 367. *Anglia Sacra*, i. 335. Freeman's *Norm. Conq.*, iv. p. 366.

his death, when the see of Wells was shifted to Bath, A.D. 1088; Dorchester to Lincoln in 1095; Thetford to Norwich in 1101.[1] The single instance of removal on the same principle made before the Conquest was that of the see of Cornwall and Devon, which was transferred from Crediton to Exeter in the reign of Eadward the Confessor, A.D. 1050.[2]

When the removal of the see from Selsey had been determined, it seems, perhaps, somewhat strange that a city so uncentral as Chichester should have been selected. Lewes, where William of Warren and his wife Gundrada soon afterwards founded the great priory of St. Pancras, might seem a more convenient site to have chosen; yet, the advantages of Chichester at that time were not few or small. Like Bath, Chester, and Exeter, it was an old Roman city; the remains of the Roman walls by which it was surrounded could readily be turned to account for purposes of fortification, the Roman roads which converged upon it afforded ready access by land, and it stood conveniently near the harbour of Bosham, which in that age was a common place of departure or arrival for travellers to and from Normandy. Up the same channel also the stone required for building the new cathedral could easily be conveyed from the quarries of the Isle of Wight.

Of the ecclesiastical buildings erected during Stigand's episcopate, there is no documentary record which can help us to determine whether any part of the present cathedral belongs to his time. A monastery of nuns, with a church dedicated to St. Peter, existed in Chichester at the time of the removal of the see; and the language of the Chronicler would rather lead us to suppose that,

[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 367. Hook, *Archbishops*, ii. p. 148.
[2] Will. Malmesbury, *Gest. Pont.* p. 201.

as at Exeter, when Bishop Leofric migrated thither from Crediton, the nuns were dislodged, and their church became the germ or nucleus of the new cathedral.[1] The name of the supplanted monastery of St. Peter survives in the parish of St. Peter, the largest in the city, and most closely contiguous to the cathedral precincts. Up to the fifteenth century at least,[2] part of the cathedral nave was used as the parish church of St. Peter; at a later period (probably after the reign of Henry VIII.), the north transept was adapted to the same purpose, and continued to be so used until 1853, when the present church in West Street was built.

Before Bishop Stigand and his chapter had begun their cathedral in the southern quarter of the city, another building, wholly different in character, but equally characteristic of the change from English to Norman rule, had been raised in the northern quarter. A shapeless mound of earth, round which children sport and play on the bright greensward of Priory Park, is the only vestige of the grim castle with which the mighty earl, Roger of Montgomery, overawed and guarded the city, which, with Arundel, had been bestowed upon him as one reward of his pre-eminent valour in the great battle by which the Conqueror won his throne.[3] Perhaps the resuscitation of the city after it came into the hands of the earl was one reason why Chichester was selected for the episcopal see. The Norman earl and bishop together might hold it fast and firm for the Crown. At any rate, under their auspices, it revived

[1] Will. Malmesbury, *G. Pont.*, p. 205.

[2] Bishop Rede's Visitation in A.D. 1403, where the church of St. Peter is distinctly said to be in 'nave ecclesiæ.' The Precentor of Lincoln, Mr. Venables, informs me that in like manner the parishioners of St. Mary Magdalen, whose church was removed to make way for the minster by Remigius, were allowed for some time to worship in the nave of the minster before a separate church was built for them.

[3] Roger was also made Earl of Shropshire.

into a state of importance which it had not enjoyed since the old days of Roman occupation. The return in Domesday Book accurately marks the increase in population and wealth. 'In the city of Chichester there were in the time of King Eadward (the Confessor) one hundred hagæ less two and-a-half, and three crofts, and they rendered forty-nine shillings less one penny. Now the same city is in the hands of Earl Roger, and there are in the same masures sixty houses more than there were before, and there is one mill of five shillings. They used to render fifteen pounds—ten pounds to the king, and one hundred shillings to the earl. They are now worth twenty-five pounds, and yet they render thirty-five pounds.'

Bishop Stigand, however, had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the two greatest persons in the realm—King William himself and Lanfranc the primate.

The first muttering of the storm which afterwards raged between the abbey of Battle and the see of Chichester is now heard. King William brought a monk named Gausbert from Marmoutier, an abbey by the Loire, to be the first abbot of the great abbey reared in fulfilment of his vow just before the battle which won him his crown. Bishop Stigand declined to consecrate the abbot-elect unless he went to Chichester for the purpose. King William was incensed at the refusal. Stigand was compelled to go to Battle, and consecrate Gausbert before the altar of St. Martin, and, as a further humiliation, and evidence of the abbey's complete independence, the bishop and his retinue were not allowed to be lodged or boarded within the abbey walls on the occasion. It was to be in all respects as free as the king's own chapel. The precedent thus established was not forgotten by Abbot Gausbert's successors.[1]

[1] *Chron. de Bello.*

The misunderstanding with Lanfranc arose about the rights of the archbishop over his peculiars, which were numerous in Sussex. Lanfranc considered that these rights had been in some way invaded by Stigand; he wrote a sharp letter of reproof to the bishop, warning him not to meddle in future with parishes in Sussex belonging to the see of Canterbury, and prohibiting any of the clergy in such peculiars from attending Stigand's diocesan synods, or from being responsible to him or any of his officials for their conduct. They might, however, receive the chrism from him, and pay certain customary fees; 'for while we are resolved to maintain those rights which have been handed down to us from our predecessors, we do not desire, God forbid! to withhold from others what is their due.'[1]

1087. The date of Stigand's death nearly coincides with that of the great king who had raised him to the see. Of his successor, Godfrey, nothing is known beyond what was discovered in his stone coffin, examined in 1829—a leaden cross, inscribed with the record of a papal absolution, but the offence for which it was granted is not mentioned.[2] Godfrey occupied the see one year only, and

[1] *Lanfr. Opp.* i. 50.

[2] The inscription on the cross is as follows:—

Absolvimus te, Godefride Epe, vice scī
Petri principis
Aplm cui Dns dedit
ligandi atq. solvendi
potestatem ut quātū tua expetit
accusatio et ad nos ptinet remissio
sit tibi deus Redptor omps salus omnium
peccatn tuorum, piis indultor. Amen.
vii. Kal. Octobris in festivitate
Sci Firmini epi et mart
Obiit Godefridus eps
Cicestrensis ipso die
v. Lunæ fuit.

after his death in 1088 it lay vacant for three years. The see of Canterbury was vacant during nearly the same period, or rather longer; Lanfranc having died in 1089, while Anselm was not consecrated before December 1093. The cause of the vacancy was the same in both cases—the grasping avarice of the red king, who protracted episcopal vacancies to the utmost extent, that he might enrich his own treasury with the temporalities of the sees.

1091. Godfrey's successor, Ralph Luffa, or Ralph I., was consecrated by Thomas, archbishop of York, Canterbury being still vacant.

The foundation of the cathedral is really due to this prelate, and large portions of his work remain to the present day,[1] although a great deal of it is almost invisible, being embedded in the new facings and additions, with which, in later alterations, it has been overlaid and surrounded. Whatever Stigand had erected was, if not wholly removed, so completely recast that Ralph is said to have rebuilt the church. His first structure, however, suffered severely in 1114 from a fire, which did much damage to the whole city; but the bishop quickly repaired the injury to the cathedral, being largely assisted by the king, Henry I.[2] The aid of the king probably consisted not so much in direct gifts of money as in the exemption of the episcopal land from taxes, and in the exemption from toll of the vessels which conveyed stone from quarries in the Isle of Wight to the head of Chichester harbour.

[1] When it is said by the Chroniclers that a bishop built the whole or any part of his cathedral church, we are not to understand that he drew the design or executed any part of the work with his own hands (though St. Hugh of Lincoln did this), but at the most that he conceived the idea of erecting the building, and with the aid of his chapter carried it into effect, raising funds for it, and often contributing a large share, besides generally superintending the whole work.

[2] William Malmesbury. Rog. Hoveden, *Cath. MSS.* E.

The main plan of Bishop Ralph's structure can be completely recovered by a careful examination of the present building. It was a great cross church with one low central tower, and two at the west end. The whole fabric was massive in its parts, and plain almost to sternness in style. Not a chevron or billet moulding relieved the heavy round-headed arches of choir and nave. No sprays of foliage, no dragons with their tails in their mouths, played round the heavy cushion capitals of the great clusters of columns which supported these arches. The arches themselves remain as they were in Ralph's time, but the columns on which they rest only peep out here and there from the later casings in which they have been embedded.[1] The triforium, however, consisting of two round arches enclosed within a larger one, remains untouched. The transepts were aisleless, but the nave and choir had aisles, some windows of which, now blocked up, may yet be traced.[2] The great Norman arch with which the eastern wall of each transept is pierced originally opened into an apsidal chapel,[3] the usual appendage of Norman transepts. Eastwards the church ended in three radiating chapels,[4] and from the central one of these three projected a fourth, parts of which yet remain in the western walls and buttresses of the present Ladye chapel.

The four western bays of the nave are a little later in style than the four eastern, which renders it probable that these latter were included in the choir which in Norman

[1] The pier least altered is the westernmost on the south side.

[2] The best specimens are to be seen in the vestry of the priest vicars, and in the chamber over the library.

[3] Remains of the curving wall of the chapel attached to the north transept may be clearly traced in the chamber over the library.

[4] Professor Willis conclusively proved this by a careful examination of the masonry in the triforium of the presbytery, and of the position of some Norman windows in it (now blocked up), relatively to some buttresses outside (see his Lecture, pp. 8, 9.)

Cathedrals commonly stretched down westwards of the central tower. The choir would naturally be built first after the fire, in order that the services might be resumed with as little delay as possible.

Ralph did not confine his energies to architecture: three times a year he was wont to make a circuit in his diocese, preaching in the parish churches, organising work and reforming abuses. He provided also for the more complete constitution of his chapter by creating the four dignities which are found in all cathedrals of the old foundation[1]—the offices of Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer. Doubtless the duties pertaining to such positions must have been performed by certain appointed members of the chapter before this time: what we are to understand in this and similar cases is that certain functions were now permanently assigned to persons bearing those titles, and that by virtue of them they ranked higher than the rest of the community, and had a separate endowment.

Bishop Ralph was distinguished alike for height of stature and intrepidity of character. He warmly supported the cause of Anselm in his struggle with William the Red, and when the king in a personal interview menaced Ralph, the Bishop offered him his pastoral staff

[1] It may suffice here to remark, for the benefit of those few who may not be already aware of it, that by cathedrals of the old foundation are meant those whose chapters, consisting not of monks but of secular canons, were not disturbed in the reign of Henry VIII., when all monastic establishments were either swept away or remodelled with chapters of secular canons. The cathedrals of the old foundation are York, London, Lincoln, Lichfield, Hereford, Wells, Chichester, Salisbury, and Exeter; together with the churches of the four Welsh bishoprics, St. David's, Llandaff, Bangor, and St. Asaph. The remaining cathedrals, which, having been served by monks, were refounded with secular canons in the time of Henry VIII., and abbey churches, then made cathedrals for the first time, are called Cathedrals of the New Foundation: these are Canterbury, Durham, Winchester, Carlisle, Chester, Ely, Norwich, Gloucester and Bristol, Worcester, Peterborough, and Rochester. The sees of Ripon and Manchester are creations of modern times.

and ring, saying that he might be deprived of his see, but would not abandon his primate. In the reign of Henry I. he stoutly resisted the king's attempts to make money by exacting fines from married priests; maintaining that his poor diocese, whose cathedral had just been burned, deserved to be helped by gifts, not impoverished by fines; and to move the king to pity he shut up the churches throughout his diocese, and forbade any sacred offices except in monastic houses. His courage won the king's admiration, who consented not only to release the diocese from the tax, but, as already stated, rendered the bishop valuable aid in repairing the damage of the fire to his cathedral. He also granted to him and his successors the right of free warren on their manors of Aldingbourne, Amberley, Houghton, and the whole of the Manwode, and a right to all the customs levied during a fair to be held eight days annually in the city of Chichester.[1]

The relations of Bishop Ralph with the abbey of Battle were most amicable, but unhappily paved the way for serious disputes in later times. He attended the great ceremony of consecrating the abbey church in 1095, performed by Anselm as primate, assisted by six other bishops, in the presence of King William the Red; and in 1096 a new abbot, Henry of Canterbury, condescended by the advice of Anselm to go to Chichester for consecration—a step, as it turned out, dangerous to the abbey's claims to independence. Ralph, however, with the consent of his chapter, exempted the chapel of St. Mary, built by the abbey for the inhabitants of the village, from episcopal dues and jurisdiction, in gratitude for which the monks of Battle presented the church of Chichester with a

[1] *Cathedral MSS.*, Lib. E. 'Robustus et magnanimus erat.' William Malmesbury, p. 205, 'proceritate corporis insignis et animi efficacia famosus.'
[2] *Cath. MSS.*, 416 B. 'Totam consuetudinem villæ.'

copy of St. Jerome's letters.[1] The bishop in his turn, when he paid a visit to Battle, publicly proclaimed the privileges of the monks and consecrated a new feretory for their relics.[2]

Bishop Ralph died in 1123. The lid of a stone coffin at the entrance of the Ladye chapel, on which the words 'Radulphus Episcopus,' are still legible, may cover his remains, but the length of it hardly tallies with the notices of his extraordinary stature.

1125–1147. Of Ralph's successor, Seffrid Pelochin or d'Escures, there are but scanty records. He had been abbot of Glastonbury, and was brother of the Primate Ralph d'Escures, perhaps an elder brother, as he bore the name of his father Seffrid, lord of Escures, in the neighbourhood of Seez. He was in favour with Henry I., who granted him and his successors the privilege of a fair every year in Selsey to last three days, beginning on the eve of St. Laurence the Martyr. All merchants and other persons attending it were by a royal order to be free from all molestation in going and returning.[3]

Bishop Seffrid, however, lost the cause for which his predecessor had so manfully and successfully striven; namely, that the royal treasury should not be enriched by what strict prelates regarded as sin, the payment by secular priests of fines for indulgence in matrimony. In 1129 he was present with the two archbishops and thirteen other prelates at the Council of London, convened for the purpose of taking measures to enforce the celibacy of the clergy. The secular clergy still, and indeed long afterwards, very commonly married, although their wives were not recognised as lawful, and were called by

[1] Up to this time the people of Battle had worshipped in the abbey church, but as the village grew this became inconvenient.

[2] *Chron. de Bello.* [3] *Cath. MSS.*, Lib. B.

opprobrious names. The council was held at the instance of the Primate William of Corbeuil, who had been made legate by the pope to redress abuses in the whole Church of England. The primate was a weak man, and instead of making a stout resistance like Ralph Luffa, he allowed himself and his suffragans to be outwitted by King Henry. Judgment in the matter was conceded to the king, who ordained that clerical marriages should be absolutely prohibited except when redeemed by payment for exemption. The king's cupidity was gratified by receiving a large sum from the married clergy, and the primate and his bishops were laughed at for their simplicity. It is remarkable that in the list of bishops present at the council, Seffrid is designated by the old tribal title Suthsexensis.[1]

The relation of the see with the abbey of Battle began to be again unpleasant. Seffrid was wont to pay a visit to the abbey on the festival of the patron saint, Martin. On one occasion a quarrel arose between the bishop's servants and the abbot's. Seffrid took the part of his attendants; there was a considerable fray, and ultimately the bishop and his retinue were all thrust outside the abbey walls, and food and lodging refused in conformity with the Conqueror's order when Stigand was compelled to consecrate the first abbot.[2]

Seffrid was deposed in 1145, and retired to his old home at Glastonbury; but of the nature of his offence there is no record.[3] Most probably he had attached himself to the party which was hostile to King Stephen, who had alienated the great body of bishops and clergy from his cause by his treatment of Bishop Roger of Salisbury and his nephew; at any rate, one recommendation of his successor Hilary, who was raised to the see in 1147, is said

[1] *Roger de Hoveden*, H. Huntingd. [2] *Chron. de Bello*, p. 63.
[3] Malmesbury, *De Antiq. Glastonbury. Chron. Petroburg.*

to have been his devotion to the cause of Stephen. Hilary played a conspicuous part in the transactions of his time. He was distinguished for eloquence and knowledge of the canon law; qualities which procured him the favourable notice of King Stephen's brother, Henry of Blois, the great bishop of Winchester, and the appointment of advocate of the king's cause in the papal court.[1] Stephen conferred upon him and his successors the office of confessor to Queen Matilda, and annexed to it in perpetuity the chaplaincy of the royal castle of Pevensey.[2]

The contest between the abbey of Battle and the see of Chichester came to a crisis during the episcopate of Hilary. He was determined to subjugate the abbey to his jurisdiction; demanded the attendance of the abbot at his diocesan synods, and payment of episcopal dues, and further, that abbots-elect should in future repair to the cathedral of Chichester for their consecration, and make professional obedience to the bishop. Abbot Walter, brother of the powerful Baron Richard de Luci, was summoned to Hilary's synod; he refused to attend. Hilary placed his abbey under interdict, and threatened suspension of Walter for contumacy. The abbot appealed to King Stephen at St. Alban's, and a day was appointed to hear the cause in London. Hilary failed to appear, and Stephen confirmed all William the Conqueror's charters of freedom to the abbey. On Stephen's death, 1135, Hilary again summoned the abbot to his synod, and on his neglect of the summons excommunicated him. Henry II., on his accession, had confirmed charters to several abbeys, but Hilary persuaded Theobald the primate that the charters of Battle conferred an amount of independence on the abbey which was utterly incom-

[1] *X. Scriptores*, p. 276.

[2] Charter of Stephen in *Cathedral MSS.*, Lib. E.

patible with the rights and privilèges alike of the see of Canterbury and Chichester. The king, therefore, under the influence of Theobald and Hilary, refused to confirm the charters. Abbot Walter then hastened to his inn at Southwark, repaired thence to Westminster, accosted the king as he was going to mass in the royal chapel, and besought him to confirm what his predecessors had granted. Hilary, however, was on the spot too: he bustled up and warned the king not to depart from the wholesome counsel of my Lord of Canterbury. Henry notwithstanding sealed the charter, but directed that the bishop and abbot should meet the Archbishop Theobald and the Chancellor Becket at Lambeth, and endeavour to come to an understanding. The meeting only led to angry debate, which was ended by Becket's taking the charter away and laying it up in the king's chapel. Not long afterwards the abbot visited Henry when he was elated by victory over his turbulent Baron Hugh de Mortimer, regained possession of the precious charter, and carried it off in triumph to Battle.

But this was by no means the conclusion of the struggle. Abbot and bishop soon afterwards sought Henry in Normandy, and Hilary procured a letter from the English Pope Adrian IV. (Nicolas Brakspeare), which peremptorily commanded the abbot to surrender obedience to the bishop. The dean, archdeacon, and treasurer of Chichester summoned him to appear there on Mid-Lent Sunday to receive the pope's injunctions. Abbot Walter deemed it wise to comply: he met the chapter in the cathedral; the pope's letter was read. The dean made a rather sententious speech, in which he assumed the point in question—the right of the bishop to receive a profession of obedience from the abbot, and counselled Walter in rather a patronising style to lose no time in

signing such a declaration, and then (in modern phrase) 'all should be forgiven.' The abbot replied in a speech of mingled astonishment and indignation; he repudiated the dean's proposal as a polite insult. The assembly broke up in confusion, and the abbot, after praying before the altar of the Holy Trinity in the cathedral, returned home with his friends.

He was now convinced that the only hope of terminating this vexatious strife was to bring it before the king himself for decision. His brother Richard de Luci, chief justiciar of the realm, obtained the king's consent to hear the cause as soon as he should return to England. On his arrival, Bishop Hilary and the abbot repaired at the royal command to St. Edmund's Bury, where on Whit Sunday, May 19th, 1157, they assisted at a grand coronation of the king in the abbey church.[1] From Bury the king passed to Colchester, and here in the chapter house of the monastery on Friday in Whitsun week the suit came on, and after a few days' adjournment was resumed before the king attended by the primates, the chancellor Becket, and several bishops, earls, and barons of the realm. The justiciar briefly opened the case for his brother in a business-like speech, bringing forward all possible evidence of the abbey's independence contained in the original charter of the Conqueror, and confirmed by his successors. The abbot followed in his brother's track, and then it was Hilary's turn to speak. He first proposed mediation, but finding there was a general resolution to bring the matter to a decisive issue, he broke forth into an angry audacious challenge of the king's right to sit in judgment on a spiritual cause. The pope alone could try or depose a bishop. The king stretched out his hands;

[1] Henry was crowned again at Lincoln in the Christmas of 1157, and at Worcester in the Easter of the following year.

'True!' he exclaimed, 'I cannot *depose* a bishop; but by my outstretched hands he may be *expelled*.' A laugh was raised against the bishop, who proceeded more angrily in the same strain, till the king himself waxed wroth and demanded an apology, which Hilary, at Becket's admonition, made; after which he pleaded his cause in more temperate language, basing his arguments on the studied disrespect shown him by the abbot, and on the unseemly and dangerous independence of episcopal control claimed by him for the abbey. The king, however, took his stand upon the charter; the original document was examined; there was no gainsaying the unconditional terms in which the liberty of the abbey was secured; the king therefore declared that he had no alternative but to defend the bequest of his royal ancestor. After hearing mass and holding a short conference with the principal bishop and nobles, he returned to the court; Becket, as chancellor, summed up the facts of the case in an able speech, and gave judgment in favour of the abbot. Hilary was closely questioned about the letters from the pope; he attempted to disclaim the responsibility of having solicited them, and to represent that the pope had sent them spontaneously on hearing of the resistance made to his authority by the abbot. This version of the story was not very readily believed, and the primate crossed himself in token of astonishment when he heard it. Hilary, however, declared that he possessed no other letters detrimental to the interests of the abbey, and he now consented to make a formal and solemn renunciation dictated by the king of all rights of jurisdiction over the abbey; and so with a kiss of peace between all the persons concerned in the trial, made at the request of the good old primate Theobald, this protracted and virulent contest

was brought to a conclusion.[1] A few years later, in 1162, Hilary was present with the king, the two archbishops, and several other prelates at a similar termination of a similar struggle between the see of Lincoln and the abbey of St. Alban's, when Robert Chesney bishop of Lincoln renounced all rights over the abbey and fifteen churches dependent on it.[2]

Allowing for exaggerated depreciation of Hilary's conduct by the chief chronicler of these proceedings, a monk of Battle, the bishop seems to have pushed his claims with more heat and vehemence than wisdom; and the part which he played in the great Becket controversy shows him as an eager, energetic, and somewhat vain, rather than an able and temperate man. Into the details of that well-worn controversy it is not necessary or possible here to enter. The main supporters of Becket in his strife with the king were the common people: the lay lords took the side of their sovereign, and the bishops, as a body, acted with prudence and temperance, and perseveringly endeavoured to mediate between the combatants. Eminent among them in this praiseworthy attempt was Hilary of Chichester, though personally, like Ffoliott of London, his sympathies were given wholly to the side of the king.[3] When, at the Council of Westminster in 1163, Henry made the celebrated proposal which was the main source of all the subsequent strife, that clerics convicted of gross crimes against society should be handed over like other criminals to the secular power, most of the bishops

[1] *Chron. de Bello*, pp. 68–104.

[2] *Scriptores*, 533. *Matt. Paris. Rog. Wendover.*

[3] The share of Hilary in the Becket strife has been picked out of the many authorities for the history of that memorable struggle; chief among which are the Lives of Becket by Herbert of Bosham, Roger of Pontigny, William FitzStephen; the Letters edited by Dr. Giles, and the Chroniclers in the vol. of x. Scriptores, especially Gervas.

were willing to accede to it. Becket was incensed at what he deemed their servility, and insisted on the offensive clause, 'saving our order,' being added to their declaration of assent. Hilary, we are expressly told, was the only bishop who dared to urge a *bonâ-fide* unqualified assent. The Council of Westminster, which broke up abruptly, was followed by an angry and ineffectual interview between the king and Becket at Northampton. It was then that Henry, by the advice of Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, formed a party among the bishops, who had again expressed their willingness to accept the royal proposal, and offered to mediate between him and their primate. Hilary was one of the chief members of this party, together with Gilbert of London, Roger of York, and Robert of Lincoln. Through their entreaties, backed by a letter from the pope, Becket reluctantly gave his consent at Woodstock to accept the 'ancestral usages' of the country; but when they were specified under sixteen heads in the famous 'constitutions' of the council which met at Clarendon, January 1164, Becket saw in them, as he deemed, such a complete subordination of the spiritual to the secular power, that at first he positively refused to sign, and when he did sign, it was with the sullen reluctance of a man who acts under compulsion, and will evade or break his pledge on the first opportunity. The bishops also, even those who regretted Becket's resistance to the king's original request, were now divided; but Hilary was one of those who still adhered to the king, and entreated Becket to accept the hateful constitutions freely, and with a good grace.

Like most men, however, especially the bishops, he could not help being captivated by Becket when brought into close personal contact with him.

At the memorable Council of Northampton, October

1164, Becket was cited not as a peer of the realm, but as a criminal, to be tried on the charges of John the Marshall, for refusing to pay certain fees due from the archiepiscopal manor of Pagham, near Chichester. In a private conference between the primate and his suffragans, it was Hilary who exclaimed, 'Oh! that you were only Thomas, and not archbishop!' There were few who could forbear loving the man, even while they disliked the partisan.

The last day of that council was a terrible one. Becket had inhibited the bishops from sitting in the council to try him for a secular offence, and announced his intention of appealing to the pope if they dared to pass judgment; Henry commanded them on their allegiance to sit on the trial in conformity with the constitutions lately agreed on at Clarendon. He, with the bishops and lay lords, held the debate in an inner chamber leading out of the great hall of the castle of Northampton. Becket was left in the hall with a few devoted attendants, one of whom was his secretary and biographer, Herbert, a native of Bosham. As they sat there in gloomy silence, they could hear the loud and sometimes angry voices of the debaters in the inner apartment: from time to time deputations issued from it, and parleyed with the archbishop, but in vain; he still forbade the bishops to sit in judgment; he still would appeal to the pope. Roger of York urged him to yield; 'Hence Satan!' was the only answer. The clamour in the council chamber increased; the loud tones of the king's voice betokened the approach of one of those paroxysms of rage to which he was subject. At last the door opened, the bishops came out, ranged themselves in front of their primate, and then Hilary of Chichester, stepping forth as their spokesman, addressed them to this effect: 'Lord Primate, we

have just cause of complaint against you. Your inhibition has placed us between the hammer and the anvil; if we disobey it we violate our canonical obedience; if we obey it we infringe the constitution of the realm, and offend the king's majesty. You yourself subscribed to the customs of Clarendon, yet now you seek to compel us to break them. We hold that you have perjured yourself, and we can no longer yield obedience to a perjured archbishop. Wherefore we place ourselves under the protection of our lord the pope, and summon you by appeal to his presence.'

When Becket had fled in disguise to France, after the Council of Northampton, Hilary was envoy, together with Roger of York, Henry of Winchester, Gilbert of London, and Bartholomew of Exeter, sent on the part of Henry to the king of France and to the pope, Alexander III., at Sens. The popular feeling in France was so strong in favour of Becket that they had to travel under a military guard.

In their audience with the pope the envoys all spoke in turn; London was the first, and Chichester the second speaker. In the haste of his eagerness and warmth, Hilary blundered into a piece of bad Latin, 'et certe verum tantæ dignitatis id non decuit, nec oportuit, nec aliquando *oportuebat*.' This was too much for the gravity of the court; pope and cardinals laughed, and one of them exclaimed, 'You have got badly into *port* at last, my lord;' 'male in portum tandem venisti.' The pun was poor enough, but a small matter can give an impulse to merriment once set a-going. Poor Hilary brought his speech to an abrupt conclusion, and his more cautious colleagues carried on the argument. From this point he ceases to occupy a conspicuous place in the Becket strife. He was not included in the celebrated excommunications

launched by the primate from Vezelay; though he may very probably have assisted Gilbert Ffoliott in the composition of that solemn remonstrance addressed to Becket by the bishops of England in consequence of these excommunications. Yet the discharge of so fearful a missile as excommunication, which the audacious messenger, Berenger, actually served upon the bishop of London in his own cathedral, caused many of the bishops on the king's side, and even Hilary himself, to waver. It was, indeed, a miserable and distracting time for him and all the prelates; the excommunications were followed up by a command addressed to all the bishops of the province of Canterbury to lay the kingdom, so far as their dioceses extended, under an interdict; a more special announcement of this command was made to the chapters of Chichester, Lincoln, and Bath. Then followed a royal proclamation, that anyone, from a bishop to a layman, who observed the interdict would suffer confiscation of all his effects. All freemen in England were to take an oath to obey the articles of this proclamation. The bishops, however, refused, and were highly applauded by Becket for their firmness. In this wretched crisis of affairs many of them lived in concealment; they could not heartily espouse either side, and mediation seemed hopeless between two such obdurate and implacable antagonists as their primate and their king. Hilary did not live to share the thrill of horror with which the murder of Becket convulsed the Church of England, and indeed all Christendom. He died in July 1169, about a year before that tragical end of the primate whom he had warmly and consistently, if not violently, opposed.

Hilary was on friendly terms with William d'Albini, earl of Arundel, who had been one of his lay colleagues in the embassy to the pope at Sens. There is a charter

extant in which the earl states that in penitence for wrongs inflicted on several churches and their lands in that diocese, he bestows on all such churches the free right of digging gravel, stone, and chalk on his estates; and to the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity in Chichester, by another charter, he makes a free grant of that quarter of the city in which the cathedral and the bishop's and the canons' houses stand, from the south gate to the west gate. 'This I have done for the welfare of King Stephen, for the souls of my ancestors, for the remission of my sins, and compensation of the damages which I once did to the same church; the most noble queen Adeliza' (widow of Henry I.) 'and my heir William confirming my act. I have made the grant upon the altar of the same church, A.D. 1147, on the day of the Purification, with a certain silver-gilt cup, which is to remain for ever in the church, for the purpose of holding the body of the Lord. Witnesses: Richard the Dean; Robert the Precentor, Master Edward and others.' This charter is confirmed by King Stephen; and in another of the earl's it is stated that the canons of Chichester promised to celebrate the anniversary of his own death, and those of his wife and children, in return for the privileges granted them.[1]

The see of Chichester, in common with several others, lay vacant for four years after the murder of Becket. The king was in his Continental dominions during most of that period, and Henry his son, who had been crowned as heir at Winchester in August 1172, and was already the head of a party adverse to his father, opposed him in his clerical nominations as in other ways. The king nominated bishops to six sees in November 1173, contrary,

[1] *Cathedral MSS.*, Lib. E., which also contains a confirmation of this charter sent by Pope Gregory VIII. in 1187 to Bishop Seffrid II.

we are told, to the prohibition of his son, and after an appeal to the pope. Of these, one, John dean of Chichester, was now recommended by the king to the chapter for election to the see. In 1174, after Henry had done penance at Becket's shrine for the murder, John and three more of the opposed nominees were consecrated at Canterbury.[1] Beyond his presence at one or two important councils, there is no evidence that Bishop John took any part in political affairs, and of his character as a diocesan we are equally ignorant. It is in his episcopate, however, that Bosham, the earliest home of Christianity in Sussex, again finds a place in the national chronicles. Bosham, though not selected by Wilfrith for the episcopal see, was nevertheless a place of some ecclesiastical importance. Like Pagham on the other side of Selsey, it early became a possession of the archbishops of Canterbury. Godwin, however, obtained it when he became earl of Wessex. Here he and his son Harold had a dwelling-place, and from this port, as depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry, Harold set sail on the unlucky voyage which ended in his wreck on the coast of Normandy, his detention at the court of William, and his swearing that mysterious oath the real substance of which it is so difficult to make out, but which was artfully worked by William into the tissue of false arguments whereby he sought to convince the world of the justice of his claim to the crown of England. After the conquest one part of the estate of Harold at Bosham was held by the king in demesne. Another part was held of the king by Osbern bishop of Exeter, as it had been held by him (before he

[1] *Rog. Hoveden*, ii. p. 56. This bishop has been commonly called John Greenford; but this surname is omitted in MSS. A, B, of Hoveden's Chronicle, and has been supplied by Savile; but on what authority is unknown, so that it is safer to speak of him simply as Bishop John.

became bishop) of King Eadward the Confessor. This consisted of the church probably on the site of Dicul's monastery, with 112 hides of land, three mills value fourteen shillings, and other appurtenances.[1] William Warelwast, successor to Bishop Osbern in the see of Exeter, dissolved a college of secular canons at Plympton in Devonshire, on account of irregular conduct, about 1120, and established another at Bosham in connexion with his church there, for a dean and five prebendaries. The bishops of Exeter seem to have been royal chaplains in right of their possessions at Bosham, an honour which Henry II. arbitrarily took from them giving church and chaplaincy to Arnulph bishop of Lisieux, his friend and counsellor in the strife with Becket. When, however, Bartholomew bishop of Exeter, in 1177, complained of the wrong done to his see, Arnulph confessed that he could not retain the gift with an easy conscience, and made a formal resignation of his claims, which was confirmed by the king when he was at Stansted (an abode of the earl of Arundel, near Bosham, often visited by Henry II. and other kings on account of its hunting ground) in the presence of the primate, Geoffrey bishop of Ely, and John bishop of Chichester.[2]

[1] *Domesday for Sussex.*

[2] *Roger of Hoveden*, ii. 137. There was a long contention between the Bishops of Chichester and Exeter about their rights over Bosham. These were at last adjusted by Langton, Bishop of Chichester, and Stapleton of Exeter, who settled that henceforth the Bishop of Exeter should be the patron of the Collegiate Church, but the Bishop of Chichester was to be the visitor, as of any other parish church. *MSS.*, Lib. E., fol. 238.

CHAPTER III.

CATHEDRAL PARTLY DESTROYED BY FIRE—REBUILT BY BISHOP SEFFRID II.—BISHOP RALPH NEVILLE THE STATESMAN—BISHOP RICHARD OF WYCH OR ST. RICHARD OF CHICHESTER, THE SAINT.

Bishops.	Accession, A.D.		Contemporary kings.
Seffrid II. . . .	1180	. .	Henry II. Richard I. John.
Simon of Wells . .	1204		
Richard Poore . .	1215	. .	John.
Ranulph of Wareham .	1218	. .	Henry III.
Ralph Neville . .	1224		
Richard of Wych . .	1245		
John of Climping .	1254		
Stephen of Burghstede .	1262	. .	Henry III. Edward I.

Bishop John's successor, Seffrid II., had been archdeacon and dean before he became bishop of Chichester. When he was dean he obtained leave from the king, Henry II., to make a postern door in the city wall behind his house, by which he might have ready access to his orchard, his fields, and his granges. The outlet in the wall exists to this day behind the present deanery, though the decanal orchard, lands, and granges are no more.[1]

Bishop Seffrid's episcopate is the most important epoch in the early history of the cathedral. He saw it almost

[1] *Cathedral MSS.* Lib. E. The grant is signed by John 'teste meo filio Johanne,' &c.

destroyed by fire in 1187, but he lived to rejoice over the reconstruction which he devoted all his resources and energies to accomplish. The restoration executed under Bishop Seffrid is an admirable specimen of that masterly skill in repairing and recasting old damaged work, and of that genius in designing new forms with which mediæval builders were so eminently gifted. The funds at the disposal of the bishop and chapter cannot have been very large. The period during which the repairs were going on exactly coincides with the reign of Richard I., when heavy calls were made on the whole nation, and especially the clergy, for money, first to support the cost of the king's foreign wars, and, afterwards, to ransom him from captivity.[1] Neither was there any shrine, as in the case of Canterbury, into which devotees poured their offerings with prodigal enthusiasm. At Canterbury, after the fire of 1174, they could afford to rebuild; at Chichester it was desirable to make the most of what remained, to repair where possible, to reconstruct only where reparation was utterly hopeless.

The ordinary effects of fire upon a Norman church, and the illustration of its action supplied by the cathedral of Chichester, have been discovered and pointed out by Professor Willis with his customary acuteness of observation and perspicuity of statement.[2] Roofs of early Norman churches were commonly wooden; when these caught fire from the carelessness of plumbers in repairing the lead-work, the upper portions of the inside walls were of course scorched and damaged by the burning timbers hanging against them; and when the beams and rafters

[1] The plate and jewels of many churches were demanded in addition to the one-fourth of moveables exacted from every person in the realm.

[2] See his lecture on the cathedral, in *Journal of Archæol. Instit.*, July 1853, and published in quarto by Mason of Chichester, 1861, with plates.

dropped on to the floor and remained blazing there, the lower parts of the columns would be injured in like manner; the intermediate portions suffered least, though the string-molds and edges of the arches would here and there be chipped by the fall of the timbers. The greatest mischief would naturally be done in the eastern parts of the building, where the stall work and other wooden fittings supplied so much fuel for the fire. The structural changes made under Bishop Seffrid, as they may be traced at the present day in his cathedral, exactly corroborate this theory. The triforium being little if at all damaged, was left unaltered, but the clerestory, being nearer the roof where the fire broke out, had to be recast. It consists of a triple arcade supported on single shafts of Purbeck marble; the central arch enclosing the window is round, but the two blind arches are pointed; the abacus of each of the corner shafts is square, while the abacus of the central shafts is round; variations which prove that this work belongs to the transitional period between Norman and Early English. The string courses also were renewed, and the lower parts of the piers refaced with Caen stone. Stone vaulting was substituted for the old wooden roofs of nave and aisles, and buttresses were planted outside to resist the thrust of the vaulting.

So far reparation only was needed, and it was done with admirable completeness and economy. But the eastern parts of the church, being far more damaged, had to be more extensively altered. The apsidal ending and radiating chapels of Bishop Ralph's time were either destroyed or so much injured by the fire as to enforce removal. The presbytery was therefore lengthened with a square termination, and its arches, two on either side, round-headed but more deeply moulded than the Norman, were supported by piers of remarkable elegance,

consisting of a central cylindrical column, surrounded by four detached shafts of Purbeck marble with deeply carved capitals. These were surmounted by a new triforium of two pointed arches enclosed within a round one with sculptured tympana, and resting on clustered shafts of Purbeck marble. Above the triforium again is a clerestory of three arches, all pointed and much loftier than in the choir or nave, resting on single shafts of Purbeck, and combining, as in the former instances, the round and square abacus. The work in the presbytery has some resemblance in style to the choir of Lincoln, though a little more advanced, Bishop Hugh's architect, Geoffrey de Noiers, having begun his work in 1186, the year before Chichester was burnt.[1]

The alterations of this period were completed by the erection of the beautiful chapels, as they now exist, against the eastern sides of the transepts in place of those earlier apsidal chapels already mentioned in the account of Bishop Ralph's work.[2] Plain pointed windows also, of a single light, were inserted in the side aisles of nave and choir instead of the old round-headed and billeted Norman windows; north and south porches were added to the nave, and the sacristy was built against the western side of the south transept. The beautiful and loveable church in which we now delight to worship is thus, in the general tone of the interior—in that charming blending and contrast of severe massive Norman with the pure and graceful beginnings of Early English—mainly what Bishop

[1] It seems to be now determined by no less an authority than M. Viollet le Duc himself, that whether Geoffrey de Noiers was of French extraction or not, the work at Lincoln is not the creation of French artists: see Paper by Mr. Venables in the *Archæol. Journal*, June 1875. The annexed illustrations show the differences and likenesses between the capital of a pier in Lincoln choir and in our presbytery.

[2] Above, page 48.

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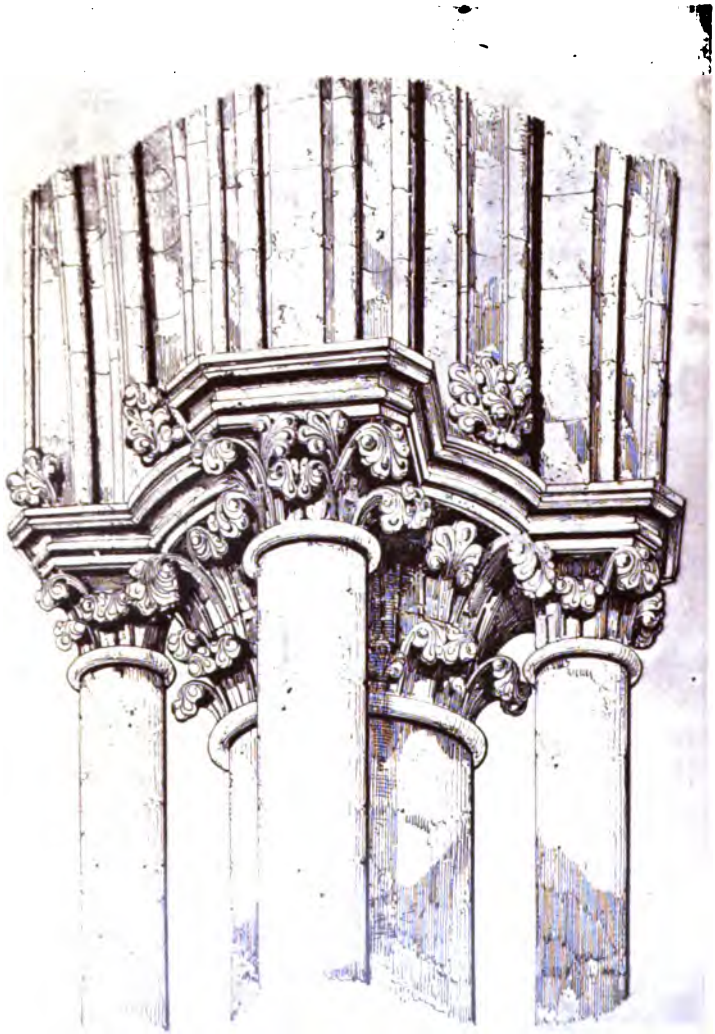

PIER CAPITAL IN CHOIR, LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

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Seffrid and his successor, Simon of Wells, made it. Thus, as Fuller says, in his quaint way, Bishop Seffrid 'bestowed the cloth and making on the church, while Bishop Sherborne gave the trimming and best lace thereto in the reign of Henry VII.'

The renovated church was re-dedicated in the name of the Holy Trinity in September 1199, six bishops whose names I have not discovered assisting at the ceremony.[1] In May of the same year Seffrid had taken part in the coronation of King John.[2] He lived five years more to contemplate his work and carry it on towards thorough completion, which he aided amongst other ways by granting twenty days' relaxation from penance to all who visited the cathedral and made offerings on the feast or within the octave of the feast of the Holy Trinity.[3]

Notwithstanding the restoration of the cathedral, Bishop Seffrid found means to establish the hospital of St. James for lepers half-a-mile east of the city. Henry II. granted a salary for the master out of the royal exchequer, and a beech-tree once a year out of Godinwode (Goodwood) to supply the inmates with fuel.[4]

How far the buildings begun by Seffrid were incomplete at the time of his death, it is impossible to say. All that can be known for certain is that work was going on during the episcopate of his successor

Simon Fitz Robert or Simon of Wells, A.D. 1204–1207. —There are two entries on the patent rolls of John's reign, one in 1205, another in 1206, licensing the free transport

[1] *Annal. Waverly.* [2] *Rog. Hoved.* [3] *MSS.* Y. 39.

[4] *MSS.* E. Seffrid founded another hospital for lepers further eastwards. It was endowed with money yielding ten shillings a year and lands. Eight woollen tunics were to be given to the inmates at Christmas, and eight linen vests at Easter. To all who visited it on festivals, and confessed, fifteen days' relaxation from penance was to be granted, because it was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, who 'loved much,' and whose sins, 'which were many, were forgiven.'

of Purbeck marble from the seaports of Dorsetshire to Chichester, for the repair of the cathedral, and the bailiffs of the ports are admonished to take security of the bishop's carriers that none of the marble be disposed of on the way for any other purpose. Simon of Wells held some office in the Exchequer, and was archdeacon of Wells, provost of Beverley, and guardian of the Fleet Prison, when, in 1204, he was raised to the see of Chichester. He seems to have kept on good terms with King John to the end of his life, in consequence of which John became a benefactor to Chichester, while to the country at large he was a curse. He had appointed Simon to the rectory of Faversham in Kent: but the monks of Faversham disputed his right to the patronage; the King had them all pulled out of the house by their ears, and put soldiers in possession of it, but was soon afterwards persuaded by Archbishop Hubert to drop his pretensions.[1]

Soon after the election of Simon, the king granted a charter by which he and his successors were to hold their possessions within and without the city walls, free from exactions; all alienated property was to be recovered in the bishop's own court; causes arising out of disputed claims were to be carried into the king's court, and his justiciaries were to settle them without delay. Leave also was granted to build houses twelve feet into the highway beyond the burial ground on the north side of the cathedral. This strip continued to be occupied by buildings down to the present generation. The last remaining shops were removed only twenty years ago; their site is now covered by a pleasant row of shady lime-

[1] See Mr. Foss's *Judges of England*, vol. ii. Also *Chron. Thorn.* about the Faversham business; and Mr. Arnold's Paper in the *Sussex Archæol. Journal*, vol. xxii.

trees, and the whole northern side of the cathedral is once more, after so many centuries, visible to the dwellers and passers-by in West Street. The church of Bapchild in Kent was also bestowed on Bishop Simon by the king, and is at this day in the gift of the dean and chapter.[1] 'It is an ill wind that blows nobody good,' and Chichester has no reason to complain of King John.

Chichester, however, suffered in common with the rest of the country from the contest of John with Pope Innocent III., about the appointment of Stephen Langton to the primacy. Simon of Wells died in 1207, the very year in which Langton was consecrated to Canterbury, by Innocent at Viterbo, in defiance of the king. The monks of Canterbury were driven out by the enraged John, because they had accepted the pope's nominee in preference to his own, and then the papal thunder-cloud which had been hanging over the country for more than six months burst. The papal commissioners, William bishop of London, Eustace of Ely, and Mauger of Worcester, had their final interview with the king in March 1208. They declared the demands of Innocent, which were the reception of Langton and the recall of the monks. John burst into one of his furious rages, and swore by all his favourite oaths. The commissioners proclaimed the 'interdict,' and fled the country for their lives. For full six years the dreary blight of the interdict lay upon the land: churches were closed, bells silenced, the infant was baptized and the dying man received the *viaticum*, but his dead body was buried with the burial of an ass. The whole of the innocent country was cursed for the offences of one man, who took his mean revenge by oppressing the Church still further: he confiscated the property of sees and monasteries, and replenished his exchequer with the profits.

[1] Charters of King John, printed in Dugdale's *Monastic*.

The secular clergy, to whose ranks the canons of Chichester belonged, suffered the most severely at his hands: he caught them in a dilemma: if they obeyed the interdict, their property was confiscated; if they disobeyed it, such clergy as were married were forced to pay heavy fines for the privilege of retaining their wives. Then followed more degrading humiliation of king and realm. John was pronounced to be excommunicated and deposed; Europe was invited to engage in a crusade against him. The patriotism of the English nobles was deeply moved; they rallied round John to save the country from subjection to Philip Augustus of France, and then the despicable king, unable to trust the people whom he had so deeply wronged, stooped to the disgraceful shift of surrendering himself as a vassal to the pope, and doing homage to him for the possession of his own kingdom. Langton landed in 1213, met the king and absolved him amidst a weeping multitude at Winchester, and henceforth became a leader of the national party in maintaining the rights of the national church against both pope and king. In 1214, the interdict was taken off and the bells throughout the land rang forth a joyous peal, but it was amidst the most profound discontent of the higher ranks both in Church and State. All the compensation which the bishops and clergy received for demolished castles, razed houses, burnt woods, orchards and barns, was 40,000 marks and a vague promise that the sum should be made up to 100,000 marks.

It was in this deplorable state of public affairs that the see of Chichester, which had remained vacant throughout the interdict, was filled up. On January 25, 1215, the Primate Langton consecrated two bishops at Reading.[1] William of Cornhill to Lichfield, and Richard Poore, dean of Salis-

[1] *Wav. Ann.*; *Matt. Paris.*; *Rog. Wendover.* The consecration took place in Capella Infirmariâ.

bury, to Chichester. The king had in November of the preceding year tried to attach the clergy to his cause by granting to chapters of cathedrals and abbeys the right of a free election of their prelates, without interference on the part of the king.[1] Richard Poore was translated to Sarum in 1217, and brought down the cathedral from the hill to the plain of Meresfield in which the present glorious fabric stands. He obtained the patronage of the church of Hove for the bishopric of Chichester, and he founded the prebends of Hova Villa and Ecclesia, afterwards divided.[2]

1217.—His successor, Ranulph of Warham, had been prior of Norwich, and, according to his signature to Magna Carta, was a privy councillor at that time. A dispute arose at his consecration, in the absence of the primate, as to the right of precedence between the bishops of London and Rochester. Rochester claimed the privilege of consecrating as being vicar of the primate in his absence, London claimed it as being dean of the province. On this occasion the two prelates united in the act, London being the chief consecrator, but Rochester reserving his right. After 1328 the custom arose for the pope to grant leave to the bishops to choose their own consecrators, and later still for the archbishop to issue a commission when he could not attend in person.

Bishop Ranulph enriched the see by bequeathing to it some houses outside the Newgate, London. He also built a windmill at Bishopstone and established a staurum or stock of cattle for the benefit of himself and his successors, consisting of 250 oxen, 10 horses for the plough, 100 cows, 10 bulls, 3,100 sheep, 120 goats, and 6 he-goats. To supply these goodly flocks and herds with pasture ground, his successor, Ralph Neville,

[1] *Vide* Stubbs's *Select Charters*, p. 270. *Rot. Pat.* 2 Henry III. m. 6.
[2] *Cathed. MSS.* Lib. E.

obtained the grant of an extensive tract of undulating land stretching north-west of Chichester, then known by the name of the king's 'Bruillum' and Depemarsh.[1] The word 'Bruillum,' now corrupted into 'Broyle,' signifies rough coppice or uncultivated ground, a character which the present Broyle, in some few spots, still retains, though the greater part of it is now covered by the houses, parks, and gardens of persons who are the kind and pleasant neighbours of the writer of these pages.

Ralph Neville, A.D. 1224–1244, was not only a local but a public benefactor. Of all the bishops who occupied this see from the Conquest to the close of the thirteenth century, Ralph Neville was the most statesmanlike, as Hilary was the most ecclesiastical, and Richard of Wych the most saintly. He was born at Raby Castle, the great fortified home of the Nevilles, in the county of Durham, but his exact relationship to that noble family does not appear. At the time of his election to Chichester he was chancellor of the diocese and dean of Lichfield. Two years after his consecration, 1226, he became chancellor of the realm, in which high office, during sixteen years, 'he proved himself,' says Matthew Paris, 'faithful in many perils, and a singular pillar of truth in the affairs of the kingdom.'[2] He was consecrated by the primate on April 21, 1224, and we may presume that his consecration feast was on a sumptuous scale, as the king presented to him for the occasion four dolia of Gascon wine and a dozen bucks.[3]

Just about the time that Ralph became bishop, the

[1] *MSS.* Lib. E. The bishops were to have free leave to clear the wood 'assartare,' to cultivate the ground and enclose it with hedge or ditch; it was to be free from forest law.

[2] II. 267.

[3] *Rot. Claus.* i. 585, 592, 593, 650. In October following six more dolia of wine were added.

good and great primate, Stephen Langton, began to surrender most of the details of business to his brother Simon, archdeacon of Canterbury, and retired to spend the remainder of his days on his beautiful manor of Slindon, between Arundel and Chichester.[1]

The aged primate and his suffragan of Chichester having become neighbours as well as friends, must have often met, and, as they paced the sunny, breezy slopes of Slindon or sat beneath the shade of its stately beeches, may have strengthened each other in those principles of public policy which they held in common. Ralph, like Langton, was the firm upholder of the rights of the English church against the exactions and encroachments of the pope and the un-English king, Henry III. His patriotic resistance to the attempts of the unpatriotic king, instigated by foreign favourites to violate Magna Carta, was so distasteful to Henry, that he was anxious to deprive him of the office of chancellor. An opportunity for effecting this under the semblance of conferring honour seemed to present itself when the primacy became vacant in 1231 by the death of Richard Grant, successor to Langton. Ralph was elected by the monks and approved by Henry, who immediately placed the temporalities of the see in his hands as an inducement to accept the appointment. But Ralph steadfastly declined; and the pope, aware of his patriotic character, was unwilling to confirm the election. The chapter of Canterbury wished to send a deputation to Rome to plead his cause, but Ralph flatly refused to contribute a farthing to the expenses of such an embassy, as being, in his judgment, a simoniacal proceeding.[2] A deputation of monks was sent notwithstanding, but Gregory IX. refused to confirm

[1] Hook's *Archbishops*, ii. 759.

[2] *Rog. Wendover*, iv. 227. *Matt. Paris*, ii. 337.

the appointment, alleging that Ralph had been engaged in secular affairs nearly all his life, and was hasty of tongue and haughty in spirit, but really, as the monks themselves discovered, from a fear that he would try to detach both the king and kingdom from subservience to the papacy. Ralph consequently remained bishop of Chichester till his death in A.D. 1244.

The king attempted to remove him from the chancellorship in 1236, on account of his sympathy with the patriotic party; but he refused to surrender the seal, declaring that he had been entrusted with it by the common council of the realm and could not relinquish it without their sanction.[1] Two years later, however, the king accomplished his purpose. Ralph was elected bishop of Winchester by the chapter, in opposition to the royal nominee, William of Valence. In revenge, the king got the pope to cancel the election, and took away the great seal from Ralph, though he seems still to have received the profits of the office. He was not, however, restored to favour until 1242, after which he remained chancellor till his death.[2]

Ralph did not forget the bishop in the statesman. He obtained for the clergy tithes of hay and of the produce of mills on the royal demesnes, which had hitherto been exempt from such payments. He rebuilt the chancel of the church at Amberley, one of the episcopal manors, and the chapel of St. Michael, of which no vestige now remains, outside the east gate of Chichester. This was given him by the king, together with the adjoining burial ground, on condition that he provided two priests with an annual stipend of six marks each to sing masses in the chapel for the soul of King John, of Henry III. and his heirs. To the poor of Chichester he bequeathed a fund

[1] *Matt. Paris*, sub ann. 1236.

[2] *Rot. Pat.* 22 Henry III. Rymer's *Fœd.* i. 244, 253.

for an annual distribution amongst them of twelve quarters of wheat, commuted in modern times for bread money.[1]

It has been commonly said that the spire of the cathedral was begun during his episcopate, but there is no documentary evidence to support this assertion, and the style of the old structure (of which the new is a copy) indicated a much later date. The upper portion, however, of the central tower from the crown of the four great Norman arches to the corbel table just below the battlements, was probably constructed about this period.[2] The 'Annals of Dunstable' inform us that two towers fell at Chichester in 1210.[3] Whether they belonged to the cathedral is not stated, but most probably one at least did, and the probability is confirmed by three statements in the cathedral records—one that Ralph released from twenty days' penance all persons who visited the church and contributed to the fabric;[4] another, that he spent 130 marks on repairs;[5] and a third, that his executors paid, in 1247, 140 marks to the dean and chapter for finishing a stone tower which had long been unfinished and almost despaired of, but was now nearly completed.[6] This tower may well have been the upper part of the great central tower; and if we suppose, which is most probable, that the other tower which fell in 1210 belonged to the cathedral, we may reasonably surmise it to have been the north-west tower. This tower fell about 1630, and Sir Christopher Wren was called in fifty years later to give his advice concerning its reconstruction. He then said that it had not been built at the same time, or in the same style, as the south-western tower. Now that tower is mainly Norman, hence we may conclude

[1] *Cath. MSS.* E. and Lib. *Regis.*
[2] Willis's *Lect.*, p. 32.
[3] *An. Dunstap.* an. 1210.
[4] *MSS.* Y. 24.
[5] *MSS.* E.
[6] *MSS.* Y. 14.

that the north-western was built later, very probably after having fallen in 1210. In 1222 there was a severe earthquake in England, which shook down many buildings and perhaps retarded the progress of the tower at Chichester.[1]

To Ralph's time also belong most of the side chapels added to the nave; one of them is expressly said to have been his gift to the cathedral. They were, in fact, most of them chantry chapels, and were originally divided by partition walls, each being complete with its altar, piscina, and credence table, of some of which traces are still visible.[2] After the suppression of chantries the partitions were removed, and the whole set of chapels on either side being thrown together, present the appearance of additional aisles to the nave, so that the cathedral is often, though incorrectly, said to have double side-aisles. The whole width of the nave is, therefore, unusually great, ninety-one feet; a greater width than that of any English cathedral except York, though each division by itself, especially the central one, is narrow. The multiplication of arches and columns, of broken spaces, and intersecting and interlacing lines produced by this peculiarity of construction, delights the eye of one who takes a diagonal view across the nave.

Bishop Ralph died February 1, 1244, in the magnificent house which he had built in a street then called New Street, *Vicus Novus*, but which came to be known after him as 'Chancellor's Lane,' and in time 'Chancery Lane.'[3] The house afterwards became the *hospitium* or inn of the earl of Lincoln, A.D. 1312, and though the ground on which it stood has for so long a time been

[1] *Ann. Dunstap.*
[2] Especially in the easternmost chapel on the north side.
[3] *Rot. Claus.* i. 107. *MSS.* E.

transferred to the use of law students and law courts, it is still designated after its old proprietor, 'Lincoln's Inn.' The bishop bequeathed this possession to his successors, and that part of the estate which alone remains to the see is still known by the name of 'Chichester Rents.'[1]

A bundle of royal letters belonging to the reign of Henry III., between the years 1216 and 1235, was discovered by Sir T. Duffus Hardy in 1841, and was printed and edited in 1862 by the late and much-lamented Professor Shirley. The letters relate for the most part to public affairs, but as they passed through the hands of the chancellor, our Bishop Ralph Neville, and were preserved in his office, it has chanced by a happy accident that several letters from Simon de Seinliz, the steward of his estates in Sussex, have strayed into the bundle, and they bring before us in such a vivid way many of the details of quiet country life and the mode of transacting business at this early period, that I have thought it well worth while to paraphrase in a condensed form their principal contents. The letters are numbered according to their places in the series. The dates of many are uncertain, but of no great consequence.

212.—'I will perambulate your wood at Chichester' (probably on the newly-acquired Broyle) 'as soon as the sheriff of Sussex (vicecomes) and certain knights and freeholders who ought to be present and are now in London can attend. I have raised by borrowing or other means £20 for your expenses in London, which I will send with £32 15*s.* 5½*d.*, to Brother Gilbert, treasurer of the Hospital of ——.[2] I was sorry to find

[1] He obtained from the king permission for himself and his successors to make a free disposition by will of all their property, movable and immovable. *MSS.* E.

[2] Here come some words which are illegible. The condition of the original letters is very bad, but it is surprising how much has been recovered by skill and mechanical processes.

when I was in London that the expenses in your inn are so heavy.'[1]

224.—'I advise you to accept the lease of the church at Aldingbourne if you can have it for less than 30 marks, should the archdeacon of Lewes be willing to let it go at that rate. This would be a fair rate according to the present sale of corn, but I cannot answer for next year. I want a royal writ to settle the right of common at Watresfield between you and William Dawtrey (de Altâ Ripâ) and Master Hugh. Pray get some foxhounds for your park at Aldingbourne, as the season for catching foxes is going by. Farewell, your holiness in the Lord.'

229.—'The archbishop is moving about Sussex. He will stay one night at your manor of Tarring, and thence proceed to your manor at Preston. He means to be lodged there at his own cost, but you had better offer to defray it; it will look well, and I know he will not accept. As long as he stayed at Slindon he was well supplied from your manors of Aldingbourne and Amberley. I want a writ to catch a runaway villain (serf).'

230.—'Some more seed is wanted at Totehall. I think you ought to know that the vicar of Mundham keeps two wives; he pretends to have a papal dispensation, contrary to the statutes of a general council. Pray send half a dozen foxhounds to Aldingbourne; the foxes are doing great mischief in the park, and the season is getting on.'

231.—'H. Kynard misunderstood your order about buying iron; you had better write to him. Get the prior of Boxgrave, if you can, to appoint your clerk Philip to the little vicarage of Warberton; it is in his gift, and I believe he will willingly grant it.'

232.—'I send Philip to thank you on bended knees for asking for the vicarage of Warberton, and he will tell you all about our affairs in Sussex.'

239.—'I have bought twelve acres of timber on the Broyle of Chichester from Master William de St. John at 40 shillings an acre, and lawyers tell me it is quite worth 4 marks an acre. [N.B.—The silver mark was worth 13*s.* 4*d.*, so the steward made a good bargain.] I am working marl at Selsey, because the best marl is found there. I use two carts there, and if you

[1] He alludes, no doubt, to the bishop's great house in Chancellor's Lane.

want more I hope you will buy 12 mares to draw them. At Watresfield also I am working marl with five carts. Your windmill is finished and goes well.'

241.—'I have received 11 horses. Your harvest has been got in without rain in excellent condition (September). On many of your manors the crops are better than last year. I am sowing on most of your land, and carrying wood from the Broyle to your palace at Chichester. Who is to help me to audit the accounts of your bailiffs? Reginald of Winchester, your official, will not have leisure I think, and Michaelmas will soon be here. Thank God all your affairs prosper in Sussex, and you may depend upon me to do my best.'

243.—'I send you 85 ells of cloth for distribution among the poor. I cannot sell the old wine in your cellar at Chichester to advantage, because there is such an abundance of new wine in the city. That croft held by a certain burgess of Chichester in the garden presented to you by the king ought to be given up; it belongs to the garden. I continue to work marl at Selsey with good success.'

244.—'Twelve carts will soon be ready to work marl on your manor at Aldingbourne. If you *must* have fish sent up from Sussex to London, I hope you will send some of your sumpter mules to carry it. Otherwise the transport will be difficult.'

253.—'I have met the abbot of Seez, and drawn up a form of agreement which will, I trust, settle that vexatious claim of his to a common on which he has no rights. I am making a cowhouse on the Broyle 100 feet long; it will be finished in eight days; I am also making a clearance in the wood on the said Broyle. I have had a talk with my Lord of Canterbury about the pasture ground which his men claim on your manor of Aldingbourne. His answer was poor and weak (*tenuis et debilis*). I think you had better get a royal writ of attorney, that I may be made your deputy to make a division between the grounds.'

255.—'I have difficulty in getting the documents about the surrender of Depemersh on the Broyle to you by Reginald Aiguillon made out in proper form. What am I to do? There are ugly tales about your chaplain at Westmulne; the people

say they can bear it no longer. What is to be done about him? as you know the time for changing chaplains is at hand.

407.—'Pray send some one to audit the rents; Michaelmas is near. The abbot of Bordeley has sent you 42 sheep, and lends you his grange at Waverley for them till I can get a proper one made.'

408.—'The abbot of Seez is trying to shuffle out of his contract about the land.'

410.—'I shall soon be at Aldingbourne to make the boundary between the archbishop's ground and yours. I hope you will be able to send your long wagon for the game caught in your park, and some cloth for the poor, of which I bought 300 ells at Winchester Fair. The small carts cannot be spared, as sowing time is at hand. Thanks be to God, the harvest has been got in well, and all your affairs here are prospering. I think I shall put Bishopstone under the charge of Henry, your keeper at Burne. He will manage both very well; and Burne and Bishopstone will go better together than Burne and Buxley.'

412.—'I have had a talk with Geoffrey of London, the mercier, about buying two of your horses which I have brought up from Sussex. He only offers 15 marks. If you accept that price you had better sell at once, as the keep of horses in London is costly.'

One other letter of a private nature must be noticed here, No. 235 in the collection. It is from the precentor of Chichester, who writes to the bishop to say that he is heavily in debt. He is very sorry he cannot comply with the proposal of the bishop's seneschal to have wheat from the bishop's stores at the present time (April), and to accommodate the bishop with wheat in the autumn; for when his crops are got in, the dean and chapter will have to sell most of them forthwith to appease his rascally creditors (*improbis creditoribus*). Meanwhile he has resolved to quit Chichester for a time, for his debts are an intolerable load upon his mind, and prevent him from making progress in his studies. While he has the name

of a rich man, he is all the while sighing after the snug competence of his old happy days as a student, just as a sailor in a shipwreck longs for the security of the port which he has left. The bishop has been the pilot who has dragged him out of his peaceful retirement into these stormy seas, and the precentor therefore hopes that he will not allow him to be utterly wrecked.

Richard of Wych, 1245–1253.—The successor of Bishop Ralph was a prelate of a wholly different stamp. If anyone wishes to learn the peculiar type of character and life which constituted a saint in the eyes of men of the thirteenth century, he cannot do better than trace the career of Richard of Wych, the ascetic devotee, the upholder of ecclesiastical power against the king, the prodigal giver of alms during his life, and worker of miracles after his death.

Richard of Wych was so called from Droitwich, his native place, in Worcestershire.[1] From his boyhood he was studious and ascetic, and refrained from village sports and revels. His parents had been prosperous if not wealthy, but after the father's death the family fell into poverty through the mismanagement of their property by guardians, and Richard laboured for several years like a farm-servant upon his elder brother's land. When, mainly through his industry and skilful management, the property yielded a comfortable income, he left his brother to the enjoyment of it, and went himself to Oxford to gratify his thirst for learning as a poor scholar. The memory of the generous and self-denying brother

[1] The life of Richard de Wych was written at great length by his confessor, Ralph Bocking. It is contained in the *Acta Sanctorum*, and is abridged by Butler in his *Lives of the Saints*, vol. i. April 3. His 'statutes' and 'his will' are to be found in the *Archives of the Bishop and Chapter*, Lib. E and Y. There is also a nice account of the saint in *Christian Schools and Scholars*, vol. ii. 15ff, &c. (Longmans).

was long cherished and honoured in his native place, and down to the time of the great rebellion the peasantry of Droitwich were wont to keep his festival by decorating with boughs and flowers a well which was dedicated to him. The decking of the well was prohibited by the Puritan Parliament as a popish abomination, after which the water 'shranke up,' whereupon the people, in defiance of Parliament, revived the custom, and the water, so men said, began to flow again.

The University of Oxford, when Richard of Wych repaired thither, was in the full meridian of her mediæval splendour. Thousands of students were crowded within the city and listened to the lectures of the saintly Edmund Rich, afterwards primate, the learned Grostete, Nicholas de Lyra, and a host of others. Many of them were rich in nothing but in their zeal for learning; their hunger was relieved by the hospitality of rich families, or of the great abbeys of Oseney and Eynsham, which on certain festival days pledged themselves to provide the poor scholars with an honest refection. Fire was often an unknown luxury, their fingers, stiffened by the cold, refused to write, and books had at times to be cast aside while the student ran about to warm himself. Richard of Wych and two companions had but one warm tunic and one hooded-gown amongst them, in which they attended lectures by turns. Their ordinary fare consisted of bread and vegetables with a very little wine; fish and flesh they could not afford to taste except on high festivals or when entertaining guests.

From Oxford Richard proceeded to Paris, and from Paris, after taking his M.A. at Oxford, to Bologna, where he greatly distinguished himself by proficiency in canon law, the great subject of study in that university. When about to leave Bologna his tutor offered him his

daughter in marriage, but the austere piety of Richard shrank in horror from such a mundane proposal. In 1235 he returned to England. The fame of his goodness and learning had preceded his arrival. He was made chancellor of Oxford, and his former teachers Edmund, now primate, and Grostete, now bishop of Lincoln, contended for the honour and advantage of securing him as chancellor for their respective dioceses. Grostete ultimately gave way to the primate, and Richard became both chancellor of Canterbury and the constant and faithful friend and follower of Edmund, alike in the days of his prosperity and adversity. The character of the archbishop was cast in the same mould as that of Richard. He was ascetic, studious, unworldly, yet not wanting in practical good sense; he offered a consistent though ineffectual resistance to the aggression of the king and pope on the liberties of the English church, their unjust extortions of money and demands for the surrender of benefices, the introduction of foreigners into the vacant prelacies of abbeys and sees, the intrusion of papal legates overriding the legitimate jurisdiction of the national primate. One of the last attempts made by Edmund to defend the national church was the result of consultation with his chancellor, and possibly was his suggestion. To prevent the temporalities of vacant sees remaining an inordinate time in the hands of the king, it was proposed that, if a see remained vacant six months, the nomination of a new bishop should lapse to the primate; but having failed to carry this wholesome measure, and finding that the papal demands for providing for hungry Italians out of English benefices grew more exorbitant, Edmund threw up his work in despair and retired to Pontigny, the favourite retreat seemingly of English primates in unhappy circumstances.

Thither he was accompanied by the faithful Richard, and when Edmund's health compelled him to seek a warmer abode at Soissy, Richard followed him there also, and was with him as he drew his last breath lying upon the bare ground, the only bed which the ascetic Edmund would consent to lie upon when he could no longer sit in his unstuffed chair.[1]

After the death of his patron, Richard repaired to Orleans and studied theology in a house of the Dominicans, where also he was ordained priest, after which he returned to England, and, as vicar of the quiet parish of Deal, enjoyed that studious leisure and humble pastoral work which were specially congenial to his tastes. He was not, however, permitted to enjoy them long or to fulfil his intention of joining the Dominican order. Boniface of Savoy, A.D. 1245, successor of St. Edmund in his see, though not in his virtues and learning, had yet the good sense to value the services of a man like Richard of Wych, who was both virtuous, learned, and practical; and he compelled him, much against his will, to resume the office of chancellor of the diocese.

On the death of Bishop Ralph Neville in the previous year, A.D. 1244, the canons of Chichester had elected Robert Passelew, one of their own body, and a staunch partizan of the king. The new primate Boniface, though not an Englishman by birth or by acquired sympathies, was never disposed to throw himself into the unpatriotic court party, and in a synod of his suffragans, he annulled the appointment of Passelew ostensibly on account of inadequate learning and otherwise unsatisfactory character. Richard the chancellor was recommended to the chapter, which readily acceded to the recommendation. The king was violently angry, and refused to give up the temporali-

[1] Hook's *Archbishops*, iii. 223.

ties of the see. Richard had an interview with him, but in vain. He carried his grievance to the pope, and found a favourable listener in Innocent IV., who confirmed his appointment and consecrated him at Lyons. On his return to England he found that the property of the see was being disgracefully wasted by the king's officials put in charge of it. Again he sought in a personal interview to move the royal conscience to a sense of mercy and justice, but again Henry was inexorable. Richard became a homeless wanderer in his own diocese; he lived on the hospitality of his clergy, but he repaid them and won their hearts by the assiduity and zeal with which he discharged his episcopal duties, traversing the downs and woods of Sussex from parish to parish on foot, after the manner of a primitive apostle. His chief abode was with a poor priest of Tarring, Simon by name, where in the intervals of his journeys he would recur to the horticultural occupations of planting, pruning, and grafting, in which he had excelled and delighted in the days of his rustic youth in Worcestershire.

Innocent did not abandon his cause, and after two years the king was induced by papal menaces of excommunication to restore the temporalities. Prosperity did not blunt, but rather quickened into more exuberant activity, the saintly virtues of the bishop; he preached in all parts of his diocese, he visited the sick, and sometimes nursed them, and assisted with his own hands in the burial of the dead. He relieved the poor with such reckless bounty as to provoke the remonstrances of his brother, who seems to have served him as a kind of domestic steward. 'Your alms,' he said, 'exceed your income.' 'Then sell my plate and my horse,' was the prompt reply. In his private life he observed the most rigid frugality and temperance; he adhered to the vegetable fare of his old

Oxford days, and when such delicacies as lamb or chicken were served at table he would exclaim, 'Poor innocents! what have ye done to deserve death? Could ye but speak, ye would verily rebuke us for our gluttony.' At earliest dawn he rose to say his office, and if the birds had already begun their matin chant, 'Shame on me,' he would cry, 'that I have allowed these irrational creatures to be beforehand with me in singing praise to God!'

His charity to the suffering and needy was matched by the severity with which he maintained ecclesiastical discipline.

A body of statutes compiled by the bishop with the aid of his chapter, for the organisation of the church in his diocese, throws considerable light on the general condition of the clergy at that period. Many of the secular clergy still secretly married, though such alliances were not recognised by canon law, and the honourable name of wife was not granted to their partners.

Bishop Richard endeavoured to suppress the practice in his diocese with relentless austerity. By his statutes it was decreed that married clergy should be deprived of their benefices; their concubines were to be denied the privileges of the church during life and after death; they were pronounced incapable of inheriting any property from their husbands, and any such bequests were to be devoted to the fabric of the cathedral. A vow of chastity was to be required of candidates for ordination. Rectors are enjoined to reside in their parishes, to be hospitable and charitable; tithes were to be paid on all annual crops. Detainers of tithes after three monitions were to be anathematised, and not to be admitted to penance until satisfaction had been made.

Vicars were to be priests, to hold one cure only and to reside upon it; they are warned not to evade the statute by taking another cure under a feigned name.

Deacons were not to be allowed to receive confessions or to enjoin penances, or to baptize except in the absence of a priest. Children were to be confirmed within a year after baptism. The Creed and the Lord's Prayer were to be learned in the mother tongue; priests were to celebrate mass in clean robes, to use a silver or golden chalice; thoroughly clean corporals and at least two consecrated palls were to be placed on the altar; the cross was to be planted in front of the celebrant; the bread was to be of the purest wheaten flour, the wine mixed with water. The elements were not to be kept more than seven days; when carried to a sick person to be enclosed in a pyx, and the priest to be preceded by a cross, a candle, holy water and bell.

Sortilegy at baptisms and marriages is strictly forbidden.

Archdeacons were to administer justice for their proper fees, not demanding more either for acceleration or for delay of business. They were to visit the churches regularly, to see that the services were duly ministered, the vessels and vestments in proper order, the canon of the mass correctly observed and distinctly read, as also the 'hours.' Priests who clipped or slurred the words from overhaste were to be suspended.

The clergy are admonished to wear their proper dress, not to imitate the lay costume; they are forbidden to have long hair, or to indulge in the pleasures of the chase. Names of excommunicated persons were to be read in the parish churches four times a year. Such were false informers, incendiaries, usurers, sacrilegious, and obstructors to the execution of wills.

A copy of these statutes was to be kept by every priest in the diocese, and to be brought by him to the episcopal synod.[1]

[1] Univ. Coll. *MSS.*, No. 148.

The bishop maintained the privileges of the church with the same vigour as he upheld discipline. A thief had been torn from one of the churches in Lewes to which he had fled for sanctuary: the bishop compelled the violators of the holy asylum to take down the corpse when in an advanced state of decay, and carry it on their shoulders to burial within the church from which the culprit had been dragged.

It is more pleasing to read that he required his stewards to treat all tenants on the episcopal property with the most considerate kindness and most scrupulous honesty. Incumbents of parish churches were to take care that such parishioners as were able should repair to the cathedral on Easter-day or Whit-sunday, and make their offering in the mother church of the diocese. Such as lived too far off might worship at Lewes or Hastings instead, provided that their offerings were duly forwarded to the cathedral. These annual contributions for the support of the fabric were long known as 'St. Richard's pence.' He also induced the primate and the bishops of London, Winchester, Exeter, Bath and Wells, Norwich, Sarum, and Carlisle, to recommend pilgrimages and offerings to Chichester cathedral, to be rewarded by relaxation from penance varying from twenty to forty days.[1]

But the see did not long enjoy the benefit of his administration. He undertook at the pope's request, in 1253, to preach on behalf of a crusade. Henry III. had long promised to take the cross; St. Louis of France had held on his disastrous expedition to the East in the hope that his brother of England would come with all the flower of English chivalry to his rescue; but in spite of an urgent letter from the pope, in 1251, the irresolute king came not, and poor Louis returned to Europe in 1253,

[1] *MSS.* E and Y.

leaving the kingdom of Jerusalem tottering to its fall. The pope, however, still strove to rekindle the flame of enthusiasm for the recovery of the Holy Land which was fast dying out in Europe. Bishop Richard set out with zeal upon the task imposed on him; he preached the crusade with fervour in place after place along the southern coast; but as he drew near Dover, where he was to consecrate a church dedicated to his former benefactor, the now canonized primate St. Edmund, he began to feel ill. He lodged in the Hospitium Dei that night, and during early mass in the chapel next morning he fell: the clergy carried him out and laid him on a bed, from which he felt convinced he should not rise again. He grew rapidly worse, received the *viaticum*, passionately and repeatedly kissed the representation of our Lord's wounds on the crucifix, and often ejaculating 'Saviour, into thy hands I commend my spirit: Mary, mother of grace, receive my soul,' he tranquilly breathed his last. When the body was stripped, the clergy gazed with awe and admiration on the horse-hair shirt in which it was wrapped, clasped with iron bands to increase the irritation and inconvenience. His remains, except the entrails, which were buried in the church of St. Edmund at Dover, were conveyed to Chichester, and there interred according to the direction in his will. 'In the first place, to the Most High Trinity and to the blessed Mary I commend and bequeath my soul, and my body to be buried in the great church of Chichester, in the nave of the said church near the altar of the blessed Edmund the Confessor, hard by the column.'

This will of Bishop Richard, of which a copy has been preserved in the cathedral records,[1] is an interesting docu-

[1] Lib. E. p. 165, and printed with a translation and notes by W. H. Blaauw, Esq., in vol. i. of the *Sussex Archæological Journal*.

ment, and throws light on the history of the testator and of the times. It is clear, from the nature and number of his bequests, that he had not parted with his possessions to the extent which hagiographers eager to magnify his self-denial and charity would lead us to suppose. Forty pounds are bequeathed to be expended on the fabric of the cathedral, a very considerable sum for those days. A great many legacies large and small are left to religious houses, relations, friends, and domestics, among others six marks to John Alexander, 'the keeper of my palfreys.' Directions also are given respecting the disposal of numerous articles of value, such as rings, seals, goblets, jugs, and the like. Manuscript copies of several books of Holy Scripture, with commentaries on the same, are bequeathed to the Dominicans and Franciscans settled in Chichester,[1] Lewes, Winchelsea, Arundel, Canterbury, Winchester, and London; a striking illustration of the rapid diffusion of those two great orders of friars, since their introduction into England about thirty years before. The will instructs the executors to demand from my lord the king, 'for the fulfilment of the foregoing bequests, the profits arising from the bishopric of Chichester, which he during two years unjustly reaped, and which of right belong to me, whereof I will require payment even in the presence of the Most High, unless the king shall satisfy my execu-

[1] A body of Franciscans had been planted in Chichester during or shortly before the episcopate of Richard de Wych. Their house and chapel were erected partly on the site of the castle, built by Roger de Montgomery in the reign of the Conqueror, just within the walls in the north-eastern quarter of the city. The castle was demolished by order of Henry III., in the first year of his reign, the king signifying his willingness that the ground should be devoted to some religious purpose. The eastern portion of the Friary chapel, with its lovely five-light window, still remains; it was used as the Guildhall after the reign of Henry VIII., and is now degraded into an untidy lumber-room, in painful contrast with the trimness of the public recreation grounds in which it stands. Hard by is a high mound of earth, the solitary vestige of the ancient castle.

tors as herein desired.' Henry had promised in the presence of Parliament, in 1248, to compensate the bishop in money for all rights withheld or wrongs inflicted; the promise, however, had not been made good, nor did the testator's demand in his will procure justice. The claim was not discharged until the translation of St. Richard's remains in 1276, when Edward I., who was present on that occasion, declares in a deed then drawn up, that the debt of £200 which had been *lent* by the bishop (so he delicately describes the transaction) to King Henry, had been, 'after dispute, fully paid to the executors, William of Selsey and Robert of Purle, for the unburdening of the soul (*exonerationem animæ*) of my said father, as was right to do.'[1]

Of Bishop Richard's successor (1253), John of Clymping, a village near Arundel, nothing particularly is recorded save that he was elected by the chapter without any interference on the part of pope or king, and that he obtained the manor of Durringswyke, where he built a large grange for housing the episcopal cattle. By an ordinance of Archbishop Boniface addressed to him, the condition on which the prebend of Wittering was to be held is confirmed. This condition is stated to be that the prebendary, on receiving the same, shall swear that he will faithfully and honestly lecture in the Close of the cathedral on theology at fitting seasons. (Dat. apud Slyndon die Scti. Bartholomæi, 1259.)[2] If Bishop John was somewhat secular and commonplace, the veneration for his predecessor would naturally be enhanced. The reports, at any rate, began to prevail and gain ground in popular belief, that the work of Richard of Wych on behalf of his people had not ceased with his death. Stories of wonderful cures wrought at his tomb grew common. John of

[1] *Rot. Pat.* 4 Edw. I. m. 19. [2] *MSS.* E.

Stoke, a paralytic, prayed almost incessantly before it, night and day, from Christmas Day to the feast of St. John; he fell into a trance, and when he woke from it the priest who guarded the tomb took him by the hand, whereupon the sinews of the paralytic recovered their tension, the joints sprang into their places with a loud crack, he leaped up, he walked about, he was led to the high altar by the clergy amidst the praises and thanksgivings of the congregation. This is only one sample out of many; for the tomb became thronged by crowds of sick folk, and the healing wonders were multiplied. Men began to say, too, that the bishop had wrought miracles in his lifetime. He had satisfied the hunger of 3,000 poor people at Wittering during a famine on beans sufficient for only a third of the multitude; he had cured a man of the gout by causing him to wear boots taken from his own holy feet.[1] When once the ball of the marvellous was set agoing about anyone in those days, it rolled easily along, gathering new material to itself in its progress. At last, in the episcopate of John Clymping's successor, Stephen of Burghstede (1262–1288), Prince Edward honoured Chichester by his presence, and failed not to pay a visit to the wonder-working tomb of Richard. The canonization of the saintly prelate, long desired by the clergy and the people, began to be seriously discussed. Bishop Stephen and the canons long and anxiously debated to whom the errand to the pope on this delicate affair should be entrusted. Nicolas of Wych a kinsman of the late bishop, and William of Reading, one of the canons, were finally selected. They carried with them a letter from Prince Edward to Pope Urban IV., recommending their petition to his favourable consideration. John of Exeter, chancellor of York, and afterwards bishop

[1] Ralph Bocking in *Acta Sanctorum*.

of Winchester, being at Rome, powerfully pleaded the cause of the deputation. Urban could not resist the overwhelming evidence of wonders wrought by the holy Richard before and after death, and on St. Vincent's day, at Viterbo, in the church of the Cordeliers, January 22, 1262, in the presence of a great assembly, he made the hearts of the deputies glad by declaring Richard bishop of Chichester to be formally enrolled in the catalogue.

The expenses of the deputation in Rome amounted to not less than 1,000 marks, but such an outlay mattered not when the cause was gained.

Happy the cathedral in those days which could boast of a canonized saint among the bishops whose remains were interred within its walls. The prestige conferred upon the church was only equalled by the wealth derived from the offerings of devout pilgrims to the shrine; wealth which could enable the chapter to repair or add to the fabric, to hold ceremonials, and to exercise hospitality on a splendid scale.

The wars between Henry III. and his barons, which came to a crisis soon after the canonization of bishop Richard, may account for the considerable delay between his canonization and the translation of his remains from their humble tomb to the stately shrine in which they were ultimately deposited. Stephen of Burghstede was one of those bishops who took part with the barons in the civil war, and is even said to have promised indulgences to those who fought in the battle of Lewes, 1264, on the baronial side. In the following month (June) he was made by the Parliament one of the three electors, the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester being the other two, who were to nominate the council of nine, under the direction of which the king was to act. When the papal legate Cardinal Ottobuone in a council held at Northampton, 1266, cursed all

the bishops and priests who had aided Earl Symone against the king, he 'especially cursed by name Walter bishop of Worcester, Henry of London, Richard of Lincoln, and Stephen of Chichester.'[1] London and Chichester went to Rome, and there succeeded in obtaining from Clement IV. the removal of excommunication from themselves. Perhaps the large sum which Stephen had expended to obtain the canonization of Richard softened the papal heart; but when Prince Edward came to the throne, in 1272, he seized the temporalities of Stephen's see. The reconciliation, however, must have been complete when at length, on June 16, 1276, the translation of St. Richard's remains from the lowly tomb to the elevated shrine was celebrated by the Primate Kilwardby, assisted by several bishops, with great pomp, in the presence of King Edward and a vast and rejoicing multitude. The precise spot where the shrine was set up cannot certainly be determined. Probably it was in the place where the great shrine of a church was commonly put, at the back of the high altar. The so-called restored tomb of St. Richard, now standing in the south transept, may have been constructed in his honour and memory, but the style is of a later date than that of the translation.

King Edward was a liberal contributor, and on several occasions a visitor to the shrine, and until the desecration of all shrines in the days of Henry VIII. it continued to be a very favourite resort of pilgrims from all parts of southern England; and the original magnitude and importance of St. Richard's festival is testified by the fact that his 'day,' April 3, still retains its place in the calendar prefixed to our prayer books, together with those of Archbishops Dunstan and Ælfeah, Bishop Chad of Lich-

[1] *Rishanger*, p. 47.—Stowe.

field, Swithin of Winchester, and Hugh of Lincoln.[1] The great crush of pilgrims of course took place on the saint's day, and in 1478 Bishop Storey found it necessary to lay down strict rules respecting the order in which the people from the chief surrounding parishes should move up to the shrine. The struggles for precedence had led to unseemly frays within the cathedral, attended sometimes by serious injury, and in one instance even by death. The pilgrims had been accustomed to carry long painted wands in their hands, but the free use of these wands upon each other's heads and shoulders was not conducive to devotion or edification, so Bishop Storey directed that banners and crosses should be carried instead of the wands, and that members of the several parishes should march up reverently from the west door in prescribed order, of which notice was to be given by the incumbents in their churches on the Sunday preceding the festival.[2]

Edward I. was a frequent visitor at Chichester in the course of his rapid movements through England, and at such times never failed to do honour to the shrine of St. Richard. Often from distant places he would send costly offerings to it, and on one occasion even from Newcastle, when he was engaged in the Scotch war. This gift was curiously distributed: seven shillings were to be offered at the shrine, seven shillings at the tomb, seven shillings to the head of the saint and other relics.[3]

[1] Thomas Becket, the greatest of all in notoriety and in the estimation of mediæval minds, has disappeared; his name was probably removed because of the extravagancies of superstition which had been manifested in the veneration paid to him.

[2] Storey's *Regist.*

[3] See the interesting account of the Royal journeys in Sussex, by Mr. W. H. Blaauw, in vol. ii. of the *Sussex Archæological.*

Bishop Stephen died in 1288; his remains are said to be covered by the tomb on the south side of the Galilee at the west entrance. The Chronicle of Oseney describes him as a man *summæ simplicitatis et innocentiæ*, and states that he was blind for several years towards the close of his life.

CHAPTER IV.

BISHOPS DURING THE REIGNS OF THE THREE EDWARDS—BISHOP GILBERT RECONSTRUCTS THE LADYE CHAPEL—JOHN OF LANGTON BUILDS THE GREAT WINDOW IN SOUTH TRANSEPT—ROBERT OF STRATFORD, BROTHER OF THE PRIMATE—THEIR PUBLIC SPIRIT—WILLIAM REDE BUILDS CASTLE AT AMBERLEY—BENEFACTOR TO MERTON, OXFORD—BISHOPS IN THE REIGN OF RICHARD II.

Bishops.	Accession, A.D.	Contemporary kings.
Gilbert de Sancto Leofardo	1288	Edward I.
John of Langton	1305	Edward II. / Edward III.
Robert of Stratford	1337	Edward III.
William of Lynn	1362	
William Rede	1368	Edward III. / Richard II.
Thomas Rushook	1385	Richard II.
Richard Metford	1390	
Robert Waldby	1396	

THE present chapter and the next contain memorials of our see during more than a century and a half. That period opens amid the glories of the reign of the first Edward; it closes with the overthrow of the Lancastrian dynasty and the elevation of the house of York to the throne in the person of Edward IV. In the earlier part of it the people of England saw Scotland won, and lost and won again; they saw France humbled by the crushing defeats of Cressy and Poitiers. The cause of constitutional freedom, too, was slowly winning its way, in spite

of some sharp reverses, and at the cost of some hard-fought and sanguinary contests. But in the later part of the period the glories of foreign conquest after the brilliant but short-lived exploits of Henry V. are gradually fading away, and in the desolating exhausting wars of the Roses which ended in the establishment on the throne of the despotic houses of York and Tudor, men saw the progress of liberty in Church and State arrested and thrown back for a century.

For the Church, however, the whole of this period seemed outwardly one of prosperity; vast wealth was at her command, and was expended with a lavish hand in the building or adornment of churches, monasteries, schools, hospitals, never surpassed for beauty of design or skilfulness of execution. In the ranks of the bishops, especially in the earlier part of this period, were to be found men eminent in ability, and thoroughly devoted to the national welfare. Such among our own bishops were John of Langton and Robert Stratford; both of whom were chancellors of the realm and patriotic statesmen. Others there were, like our Bishop Gilbert de Sancto Leofardo, who had some claims to saintliness, and were energetic administrators of their dioceses; others, like our William Rede and his friend the great William of Wykeham, skilled in architecture and learned in the science of the age. But underneath this fair surface were concealed seeds of corruption and decay. There were comparatively few bishops whose abilities were concentrated on episcopal work; they were chancellors, councillors, scholars, architects, large landed proprietors as well as bishops, often rather than bishops. Thomas Bradwardine, a native of Chichester, better known as Doctor Profundus, who came to be Primate of all England, was deeply versed in theology, but as such he is an exception to the rule.

The fault was not in the men but in the system of their age, by which preferments in the church were heaped upon them to enable them to discharge secular rather than spiritual work. Owing in a great measure to the immersion of the bishops in mundane affairs and the lack of constant personal supervision by them over the clergy, a spirit of secularity infected the whole clerical body, and sapped their influence over the people. Non-residence and plurality prevailed among the pastoral clergy; the friars became sturdy beggars, the monks easy-going country gentlemen. Simultaneously with these internal elements of decay which alienated the clergy from the people, the church was oppressed from without by the ever-advancing pretensions and exactions of the papal church. Among the most offensive of these was the practice of 'provisions,' by which foreigners, often 'unworthy mercenary men, were thrust into wealthy English benefices. Though the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire may have held this evil in check, that they could not suppress it is abundantly proved by the annals of our own see alone, to which almost all the appointments in the reign of Richard II. and Henry VI. were made by papal provision. The bishops of Chichester thus appointed were, for the most part, court favourites, recommended for papal provision by the king; and it is to their credit that they were, to say the least, all respectable, and many of them diligent and conscientious prelates. But a few happy selections here and there could not blind men to the viciousness of the practice as a rule, or to the scandals just alluded to in the inner life of the church. We are perpetually reminded of them in the synodal enactments of bishops, such as those of our own Bishop Gilbert, in the gay, good-nature satire of Chaucer (notwithstanding his lovely portrait of a 'poor parson of a town'), and in the

bitter lamentations and grim sarcasms of Piers the Ploughman. But above all they are vividly brought before us in the vehement denunciations uttered by Wicliff, and in the progress from the middle of the fourteenth century of Wicliffism or Lollardry, a fire often damped, but never quenched until, at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, the smouldering embers were fanned into a mightier and purer flame by the breath of the 'New Learning,' and the name Lollard is forgotten. The nobler and more learned Lollards became 'Reformers;' the more ignorant and fanatical were absorbed into the Anabaptists.

The successor of Bishop Stephen did not play so important a part in the public transactions of his day, but the cathedral is deeply indebted to him for his munificence, and the diocese prospered under his able administration.

Of the early history of Bishop Gilbert nothing is positively known; but we may surmise from his designation, 'de Sancto Leofardo,' that he came from the monastery of Saint Leofardus or Leobardus, at Sénenére in Touraine.[1] He had been treasurer of the cathedral for six years before he was raised to the see of Chichester, and official for the Peculiars of the see of Canterbury, which were numerous in the county of Sussex. One of the most lovely additions to the cathedral is due to him. He is expressly said to have built from the foundation the chapel of our Ladye.[2] Of the existing Ladye chapel, however, the three western compartments adjoining the presbytery, are Late Norman or Transitional work, except the windows, while the two eastern bays and the east end are of the most beautiful decorated type, correspond-

[1] See life of St. Leobardus, a recluse at Marmoutiers, in the *Bollandist Acts*, Jan. ii., 198, 199.

[2] *MSS.* E.

ing to the date of Bishop Gilbert. We may conclude, then, that in the western walls of the Ladye chapel, which contain some tombs of Norman bishops, we have a remnant of the Ladye chapel that once protruded from the apse of the old Norman cathedral, and has thus far survived both the fire of 1186 and the consequent changes made by Bishop Seffrid when the present presbytery was built. Bishop Gilbert's work consisted in taking down the eastern end of this Norman Ladye chapel, and adding that graceful fabric, beautiful with its windows of richly varied tracery, its sedilia and vaulted roof, all of which can now be seen in their true proportions since the floor has been lowered to its proper level, and the bookcases which once encumbered the chapel when it was used as the cathedral library have been removed. And our pleasure in looking at the chapel restored to its original loveliness is greatly enhanced when we reflect that the restoration was made in memory of the Bishop Gilbert of our own time, who was no less honoured and beloved than the pious founder, his namesake of the thirteenth century.

The vigilance with which Bishop Gilbert strove to maintain ecclesiastical discipline in his diocese is especially manifested by his 'Synodal Constitutions, read and published in the greater church of Chichester on the festival of St. Faith,' at a synod there held under the presidency of the said Bishop Gilbert, A.D. 1289.

The constitutions are too long for transcription in full, but some of the more important matters are here presented to the reader. Strict morality and propriety of life are enjoined on the clergy; they were to be diligent in prayer and study, peaceable, humble, and modest. They were not to frequent tournaments, or any public spectacle where bloodshed was likely to occur. They were

not to keep concubines, nor to hold intercourse with such clergy as kept them; rectors who entrusted their parishes to such priests were to be liable to a penalty of sixty shillings, to be given to the fabric of the cathedral. Probably the funds for the erection of the Ladye chapel were partly derived from these fines.

The clergy were not to wear cloaks with sleeves, nor any other kind of dress which savoured of luxury and worldly vanity.

Rectors are admonished to be careful in selecting curates who were properly ordained, men of honest conversation, active and eloquent. They were to be diligent in searching out offenders and bringing them before the proper tribunal; to take care that they secured the services of able men by providing sufficient stipends for them—never less than five marks, and in rich parishes more; and not to appoint any until they had been presented to the archdeacons and approved by them after examination as men qualified for their office.

Parish priests are admonished to be diligent in performing divine offices at the appointed hours; to read slowly, distinctly, and reverently, so as to quicken the minds of the congregation to devotion. They were to visit the sick on all Sundays and festivals, and to be ready to attend them at whatever hour they might be summoned. When they went to administer the Holy Eucharist to a sick person, they were to wear the surplice; a deacon or some other walking before them, and bearing cross, candle, and bell.

They are warned against the admission into their parishes of counterfeit friars who had crept into several parts of the diocese, and were making a traffic by preaching and hearing of confessions. Persons convicted of disturbing the peace of the realm or infringing the liber-

ties of the church, especially the church in Chichester, intruders into benefices, incendiaries, church-breakers, witches and sorcerers, were to be excommunicated. False informers also were to be excommunicated, and their excommunication was to be published in the churches of the parishes to which they belonged by the parish priest, four times in the year in the mother tongue.[1]

There is one passage in the life of Bishop Gilbert which to modern minds might seem a strange contrast to his other actions, and inconsistent with the mild and spiritual disposition for which he is said to have been remarkable. But no difficulty will be felt by those who can at all throw themselves back into the spirit of past times and consider the position which bishops held in the days of Bishop Gilbert.

In the summer of 1292, Richard FitzAlan, earl of Arundel, had been caught hunting twice within the boundaries of the bishop's chase at Houghton. On hearing of the trespass, the bishop sent a deputation of clergy, the treasurer and three canons of Chichester and the rectors of Heyshot and Ford, to remonstrate with the earl at Arundel. The earl replied that it was quite true he had hunted in that chase, and there he would hunt again. The bishop pronounced the greater excommunication on the earl, but the punishment was disregarded. He then placed the earl's whole estate under an interdict. The blow was effectual. The earl was keeping Christmas in his manor of East Dean; he sent to the bishop, who was staying at Amberley, and signified his earnest desire to be pardoned. The bishop yielded a willing assent, and at the request of the earl's messenger and seneschal, Lucas de la Gare, the bishop met the earl in the chapel of Houghton on Christmas Eve, and there gave him

[1] *MSS.* E, p. 188, printed in Wilkins's *Concilia.*

absolution, which he humbly and thankfully accepted, promising also to do three days' penance, and to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Richard at Chichester on the first possible opportunity.[1] In commenting on this transaction it may be remarked that we are not to suppose necessarily that the bishop hunted himself, though he very probably did, or that the game was preserved as it is now, *only* for what is called *sport*. Game was a valuable means of support for owners of land and their dependants, in days when the cultivation of the land was imperfect, and provisions could not be purchased any day in any quantity in some neighbouring market town. The right of free warren, therefore, on their manors was a valuable privilege granted to the bishops by the kings from the earliest times, and always most jealously guarded. There are many charters in the episcopal archives granting or confirming grants of free warren on the several manors of the see of Chichester. The longest list of them is in charters of Henry II. to Bishops Hilary and John (Greenford), where Selsey, Wittering, Sydlesham, the whole of the Manewode, Aldingbourne, Amberley, Houghton, Henfield, Bishopstone, and Byxley are mentioned.[2]

A very striking instance of the severity with which poaching on episcopal hunting ground was punished, is to be found in the Register of Bishop Rede, about a century later than the time of which we are now writing. The following mandate, dated Amberley, 1407, is addressed to the dean of Boxgrave and all rectors and vicars within his deanery: 'Whereas it has come to our ears through trustworthy sources that certain sons of damnation, whose names and persons are unknown, seduced by a devilish spirit and abandoning the fear of

[1] *MSS.* E, 102. [2] *MSS.* B and E.

God, hunted in our park at Selsey with hounds, nets, arrows, and other instruments, on the night of January 31st; broke down the fences of the park, and dared to chase, slay, and carry away deer and other wild animals therein; all and singular such persons are adjudged to have incurred the greater excommunication, to be pronounced upon them in every church in the deanery with upraised cross, bells ringing, and candles lighted.'

The greater excommunication was an appalling ceremony. The priest declared 'By the authority of God the Father Almighty and his Son and the Holy Ghost, and Mary the blessed Mother of God and all the saints, male and female, we canonically excommunicate, anathematize, and cut off from the privileges of holy church, those malefactors, their aiders and abettors, and unless they repent and offer satisfaction, may their candle be put out before the living God for ever and ever! So be it: so be it. Amen.' Thus saying, the priest put out the lighted candle in his hand by dashing it on the pavement of the church. Such a frightful imprecation for such an offence naturally fills us with horror; but we must remember that church land being considered in a manner sacred, any abstraction of property from it was regarded as profane as well as unlawful, and secondly, the game was preserved not so much for sport as for food. To some minds the sanguinary frays in the present day between poachers and game-keepers are still more revolting, human lives being sometimes sacrificed to preserve animals, simply in order that these self-same animals may one day be killed by those who derive amusement from putting them to death.

It is pleasant to turn to a completely different subject—the visitation of Chichester by the primate, Robert

Winchelsey, on December 12, 1299, of which a contemporary account has been preserved among the cathedral archives; and it is interesting to read how one of the haughtiest and most unpopular primates who ever sat in the marble chair was received by the bishop and chapter of Chichester.

The archbishop was met outside the city walls by the dean and canons on horseback, who, after a formal greeting, hastened back to the church while he approached more slowly. At the eastern gate of the churchyard he was met by the bishop *in pontificalibus*, the dean, the canons, and the choir all duly vested, a deacon and subdeacon bearing two copies of the Gospels, another subdeacon bearing holy water, another the cross, two with thuribles, and two more with wax lights, all arrayed in a processional manner. At the gate the bishop and the dean censed the primate and gave him the Gospels to kiss, were sprinkled by holy water from his hand, and then conducted him into the cathedral by the west door, preceded by clergy and choir singing. The primate prostrated himself before the high altar and there spent some time in silent prayer. The bishop then said a prayer over him, after which the primate stood up and blessed the people. Then he went to the chapter-house, where he preached on the text, 'Thou art sent to visit Judæa and Jerusalem.'

His sermon being ended, and all persons excluded from the chapter-house except the bishop, dean, canons, and vicars, he caused the certificate to be read of the mandate of visitation, and then ordered the constitution of Boniface VIII. beginning *Quia plerique* to be recited. He admonished all and singular to disclose faithfully any defects in persons or offices known to them, under pain of excommunication, after which he withdrew into

the treasury and conversed privately with the bishop, and examined him on divers articles.[1]

Such notices as are preserved of Bishop Gilbert present him to us as eminently pastoral and apostolic; he is styled the father of orphans, the comforter of mourning widows, the pious and humble visitor of those who lay on coarse beds in mean hovels, the generous reliever of the poor.[2] Besides what he had expended on the Ladye chapel, he bequeathed 1,250 marks for the fabric of the cathedral at large, and 100 shillings payable annually by the abbot and chapter of Robertsbridge for the maintenance of two boys to cense the body of Christ at the daily celebration of high mass before the greater altar in the cathedral. He also bought land at Oving for £200, with which he endowed the precentorship for the due performance of mass on his anniversary.[3]

John of Langton, 1305–1337.—The successor of Bishop Gilbert was not less able and munificent as a prelate, and in public life he was more distinguished. He belonged to a family which had the lordship of the manor of West Langton, one of the four townships which constitute the large parish of Church Langton, in the county of Leicester.[4] There is no evidence to determine whether he was related to his contemporary, Walter of Langton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, or to his greater namesake Stephen Langton, the patriotic primate and cardinal in the reign of John. There are places called Langton in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire as

[1] Clarke's *MSS.* [2] *Matt. Westminster.* [3] *MSS.* E and Y.

[4] The birthplace of the bishop of Chichester is settled by the evidence of a charter dated 1301, a copy of which is in the possession of W. Langton, Esq., of Hopefield Pendleton, to whose kindness I am indebted for this and other information about the bishop (more indeed than could be brought within the compass of this work), and by whose liberality the canopied tomb containing the bishop's remains has been restored to its original beauty.

well as Leicestershire, and the families who derived their names from them had no more necessary connexion with them than the places themselves. To which of the Langtons Archbishop Stephen belonged has been much debated and never settled.

John Langton, like so many other eminent men of his day, was educated at Merton College, Oxford. He became a clerk in Chancery, and probably the senior clerk, as in a Patent Roll, A.D. 1286, he is styled 'Custos Rotulorum,' the first instance of the use of that title. In 1294 he was made prebendary of York and Lincoln and treasurer of Wells, and in 1299 archdeacon of Canterbury. On the death of Burnel, bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1292, who had discharged the office of chancellor of the realm for eighteen years with equal ability and uprightness, John of Langton had been appointed his successor. He followed the wise and prudent policy of his predecessor. The most important measure with which he was concerned was the enactment of the statute called *Articuli super Cartas*, 28 Edward I., by which *Magna Carta* was fully confirmed and expressly guarded against violation. He resigned the chancellorship in 1302, being succeeded by William Greenfield, dean of Chichester, and, in May 1305 he was appointed to the see of Chichester, and consecrated on September 19 of the same year.[1]

Immediately after his accession to the see the bishop was solicited by Prince Edward to bestow a prebend on his favourite tutor and treasurer, Walter Reynolds. The Prince of Wales was in great difficulties; he had crowned a long tissue of insults to the king's friends by breaking into the deer park of the bishop of Chester. His father dismissed his favourite followers, refused any aid

[1] Foss's *Judges*, vol. iii.

in the support of his household, and forbade him to approach the royal court for several months. This interval was spent by the prince in Sussex, Kent, and Windsor, and busily occupied with efforts to raise the wind so as to relieve himself from his pecuniary embarrassment. The rupture between him and his father occurred at Midhurst, and from this place he wrote to the bishops of Chichester, Hereford, and Exeter, imploring them to give the very next prebend which should fall vacant to his treasurer and keeper of his wardrobe, Sire Wautier Reignaud.

The letter to the bishop of Chichester is as follows:—

'To the bishop elect and confirmed of Chichester, health,—As on account of the special affection that we have for our very dear clerk, Sire Wautier Reignaud, keeper of our wardrobe, and for the good services which he has long rendered us, and yet does from day to day, we are anxious to make and procure his honour, profit, and advancement by ourselves and our friends; we beg you as especially and cordially as we can, that for charity's sake and for love of us you would be pleased to give our said clerk a prebend in your church of Chichester, as soon as a convenient time shall occur, and for this we shall be specially bound to you for profit and honour if you so will.'[1]

No opportunity arose, or else the prince's appeals were disregarded, for Walter Reynolds got no preferment beyond the rectory of Wyberton in Lincolnshire (or Wimbledon in Surrey?) until Edward became king, when his promotion was rapid, culminating in the primacy, in which exalted position he deserted the cause of the king, to whom he owed his elevation.

Not long after his appointment to the see of Chichester, Bishop Langton obtained, through the merits of his

[1] Hook's *Archbishops*, vol. iii.

canonized predecessor Richard of Wych, important privileges for himself and his successors.

King Edward I., in consideration of the great merit and fame of St. Richard of Chichester, granted to Bishop John and his successors for ever absolute rights over their property. It was to be free from all imposts usually exacted, such as the custom on a ship's lading (*lestagium*), the duty for keeping a stall in the market (*stallagium*), toll from passengers (*passagium*). The privileges granted to Bishop Ralph Neville also are confirmed, by which the bishops were free to punish felons who injured their property, and to exact all fines for trespass and other offences committed on their lands without let or hindrance from the king's officers.[1]

Soon after the accession of Edward II., Bishop Langton was again made chancellor, probably on the resignation of the great seal in 1307 by Ralph Baldock, bishop of London, and he continued in office till May 1310, when he again resigned, and from this date till his death in 1337 his energies were chiefly confined to the administration of his diocese. In 1321, however, he appears associated with the bishops of London, Sarum, Ely, and Hereford in bearing the demands of the barons then assembled in arms at St. Alban's to the king. The demands were that Edward's odious favourites, the De Spencers, father and son, should be banished, as he loved the peace of his realm, and that they, the barons, should receive, under the king's letters patent, indemnity for past hostilities. The demands were at first partly neglected, partly evaded; the barons, becoming enraged, marched upon London, when, by the earnest entreaties of the queen and the bishops, the king was at last persuaded to yield, and an edict was issued for the banishment of

[1] *MSS.* B.

the elder Spencer, but the younger still lurked in divers hiding-places in the kingdom, and the barons so deeply distrusted the king's word that they did not venture to disband their forces.[1]

Almost the only act in Bishop Langton's diocesan administration of which a record has been preserved is enough in itself to prove the boldness with which he rebuked and punished vice, even in high places. He excommunicated Earl Warren for some adulterous connexion: the earl came to Chichester with some of his retainers to lay violent hands upon him, but the bishop and his servants not only repelled the attack, but succeeded in seizing the earl and all his retinue and throwing them into prison.[2]

To the cathedral Bishop Langton was as great a benefactor as his predecessor. The rich and glorious window in the south transept, well called by Leland 'the great sumptuous south window,' was erected by him, and probably the large and beautiful rose window above it. Upon these windows and on the south wall of the transept, possibly also on the room over the sacristy, which came to be used as the chapter house, he spent £300; and at his death he bequeathed £100 to the general fabric, together with all his ecclesiastical furniture,[3] relics, jewels, and other ornaments. He was buried beneath his great work, the window in the south transept. The beautiful canopy which overshadows his recumbent effigy was

[1] Walsingham, *Hist.*, i. p. 160.

[2] I have failed, however, to find the original document among our archives from which later annalists have derived their accounts of this incident. Langton maintained his authority in the cathedral with a firm hand. Some of the vicars complained to him of certain acts passed by the chapter which were vexatious to them. The bishop cancelled the acts as illegal, having been passed without his knowledge and assent. *MSS.* E.

[3] *MSS.* E. 'totam capellam suam,' which Dallaway fancied meant 'chapel,' and puzzled himself to find one.

restored a few years ago by W. Langton, Esq., who traces his descent from the bishop's family.

Nor did he forget the university where he had begun his distinguished career. He gave, during his lifetime, a chest containing £100 from which poor students could borrow during their residence at Oxford; a book, or vase, or some other valuable thing, being deposited by them with the guardians of the chest as a pledge of repayment: if not redeemed within a year the pledge was to be sold, unless the year expired in vacation time. He was enrolled by the university in the catalogue of benefactors; the mass of the Holy Trinity was to be said for him every year as long as he lived, on the anniversary of the translation of St. Richard, and a mass for the dead on the same day after his death. Everyone on borrowing from the chest was to say Pater Noster and Ave Maria five times for the donor, and the same number for the repose of his soul when he was dead.[1]

Robert of Stratford, 1337–1362.—Bishop Langton had a worthy successor in Robert Stratford. His name is as well known to the student of English history as that of his brother John the primate. It would be difficult to find in the course of history another pair of brothers whose careers ran so nearly parallel, or who worked with such equal ability and honesty, hand in hand, for the good of their country in perilous times. Both were educated at Oxford, both became chancellors of the realm, both were made bishops; John becoming bishop of Winchester in 1323, and primate (in spite of the king's violent opposition) in 1333, four years before his brother Robert was appointed to Chichester. Robert was vicar of his native place, Stratford, canon of St. Paul's and Lincoln, and chancellor of the university of Oxford, in which

[1] *Munimenta Acad.* i. 133.

capacity he displayed great skill and firmness in settling some violent disputes between the northern and southern students about the election of proctors. His brother the primate, after he had been made chancellor of the realm, was so much engaged in the negotiation of foreign affairs that he is said to have crossed the Channel thirty-three times in the public service. During these frequent absences from the kingdom Robert generally guarded the great seal for his brother, and when John resigned the chancellorship in March 1337, it was transferred to Robert. In September of the same year he was raised to the see of Chichester, and resigned the seal in July 1338, but resumed it in 1340. The king was at this time pressing on his war with France with reckless energy and extravagance. He borrowed large sums from the merchants of Flanders and his foreign allies, in the hope of repaying them out of the rich plunder to be made in the war; but his speculations were disappointed, the war was lingering and unremunerative, his creditors became pressing, his demands upon the government at home for money were incessant and insatiable. The two brothers, the primate and the chancellor, did their best to supply the king's necessities without utterly exhausting the country; but, like all public men, they had their enemies, who tried to represent their prudence and economy as niggardliness, and indifference to the glory of their king and their country. Robert had accompanied Edward to France in September 1340, and was one of eight bishops present with him at the siege of Tournay. That siege lingered on for nine months, and then the king was obliged to make a truce. It was probably not long before this that Bishop Robert returned to England. The king was impatiently waiting for supplies; the chancellor's enemies hinted that perhaps the chancellor and the primate wil-

fully delayed or withheld them. The king too easily believed their malicious suggestions, flew off in a rage to the coast, embarked in the midst of a violent tempest, but safely reached the Tower of London on the night of November 30; took away the great seal from the chancellor and threatened to throw him into prison, but was deterred by the Clementine prohibition. His brother the primate escaped to Canterbury, and refused to be tried except in Parliament by his peers. Day after day, supported by his brother Robert and their kinsman, Ralph Stratford, bishop of London, and the bishops of Lichfield and St. David's, the primate boldly presented himself at the door of the painted chamber in Westminster, where the Parliament was sitting, and firmly yet courteously demanded a trial until at last it was granted. He was completely acquitted by a committee of four bishops, four earls, and four barons; the king in a full Parliament formally bestowed the royal pardon, and the late proceedings against him were cancelled in the Parliament of 1343 as contrary to reason and truth.[1] As Robert had shared his brother's disgrace, and supported him in his demand for justice, we may fairly presume that he was included in the reconciliation; the more so as about the same time he was sent on an embassy to the pope, and the subsidy of one-ninth of the annual income of benefices levied in that year for the support of the French war is said to have been suggested by him, the probability of which is confirmed by the fact that the returns of this levy are made out more fully and exactly for the diocese of Chichester than for any other in the kingdom.[2]

Bishop Stratford was probably too much occupied by

[1] Burchington in *Anglia Sacra*, i. *Foss's Judges*, vol. iii.
[2] *Nonarum Inquisitiones.*

public affairs to attend very closely to the administration of his diocese. The only record of it which I have discovered is an account of a dispute between him and the dean and chapter of the cathedral, respecting his rights over the churches in the city and suburbs of Chichester. The dean claimed the right, as one of old standing, to institute to all the city parishes and the suburban villages, Fishbourne and Rumboldswyke; also the cognizance and decision within those limits of divorce suits, and the correction of all such crimes and offences within the same limits as belonged to ecclesiastical law, save such as specially pertained to the bishop. At the same time the dean acknowledged the right of the bishop to hold his visitation upon the city, and to investigate and correct abuses at such times in the said parishes. The bishop referred the dispute to his brother the primate, whose decision was that during the bishop's visitation all the above-mentioned rights should, for the time being, be transferred to him, but that at all other times the dean should freely exercise them in the character of bishop's coadjutor.[1] He also received an oath of canonical obedience from the sub-dean of the cathedral, and from all and singular of the vicars, in the chapter-house, October 9, 1345.[2]

William of Lenne, 1362–1369.—Stratford was succeeded by William of Lenne, the old way of spelling Lynn in Norfolk. Little is known of him, save that early in life he went to Rome, became a doctor of canon law, and was made an auditor 'of causes in the holy court' by Pope Urban V.[3] In 1356 the deanery of Chichester was bestowed on him, and in 1362, on the death of Stratford, he was raised to the see. Although his epis-

[1] *MSS.* E. [2] *Ib.*

[3] 'Auditor causarum sacri Palatii.'—*Malvern MS.*

copate was short, and it may be he was rarely, if ever, at Chichester, he managed to get into a quarrel (probably about land, though the cause is not mentioned) with the earl of Arundel, and he obtained from the pope a citation to the earl to appear in the Roman court and answer the charges laid against him. The king, Edward III., was extremely angry at this insult to one of the most distinguished and trusted of his nobility, and to the recently enacted statute of præmunire, which forbade the reference of suits to a foreign tribunal. The earl disregarded the citation, and the bishop was summoned to the king's court to answer for his conduct, but, being in Rome at the time, paid no heed to the summons. He was convicted, however, in his absence of having incurred the penalties of præmunire, his temporalities were seized, and his goods and chattels confiscated to the crown.[1] William had been appointed by papal provision, and the pope had written a long letter to King Edward upholding in very grand language his right to provide to English bishoprics. The statute against provisions, however, having been recently enacted, William when taking the oath of fidelity to the king at Westminster had to repeat words which expressly denied the validity of the papal claims. So did all bishops appointed at this time by papal provision. Such was one of the many inconsistencies and anomalies in the relations between the papacy and English church, which were connived at by both sides when it suited their convenience.

William of Lenne was translated to Worcester in 1368, and died suddenly in November 1373, from a stroke of apoplexy as he was mounting his horse to start for London in order to attend Parliament.

[1] See Tierney's *History of Arundel*, a book to be much commended for real learning and accuracy, rare qualities in a local history.

William Rede, 1369–1385.—As Langton and Stratford were good specimens of the statesmanlike bishops of the fourteenth century, so William of Lenne's successor is a good sample of the more learned and scholarly type. William Rede was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, and elected from it to a fellowship at Merton. He was eminent alike for his knowledge of geography, astronomy, and architecture. According to one memorandum of him preserved in the archives of Merton, he built the college library and stocked it with books. The greater part of the present building however belongs to earlier or later dates than the time of Rede, and possibly the statement of another memorandum that he gave one hundred pounds for the repair of the library may be nearer the truth. The inscription also beneath the portrait of him which formerly hung in the library, 'profundus Astronomus qui hanc librariam fieri fecit,' may perhaps refer rather to the books with which he furnished the library than to the building itself. He was a diligent collector of manuscripts, which he caused to be transcribed at his own cost, and by gifts either of money or of manuscripts he was a great benefactor to the libraries of New College, Exeter, Oriel, and Balliol. An old chest still to be seen in the library of Merton may possibly be the very chest which he gave with one hundred pounds as a perpetual fund for loans to poor scholars, not however as in Langton's case, scholars of the university at large, but of his own college.

Rede was made provost of the college of Wengham in Kent in 1363, and archdeacon of Rochester in 1369. In September of the same year he was appointed by provision of Urban V. to the see of Chichester. John of Gaunt and his party were dominant in the government at this time, and it was part of his policy to depress the

clergy and the national party, who opposed his illegal tyrannical assumption of power, by cultivating friendly relations with the Pope. Bishop Rede was a friend of William of Wykeham, with whose tastes his own were in thorough harmony. We are well content, however, that he did not imitate his great architectural brother of Winchester in reconstructing the nave of his cathedral, but left us our Norman and Early English work in its plain and simple beauty. The only piece of building in which Bishop Rede indulged himself, and very probably consulted William of Wykeham, was the conversion of his manor house at Amberley into a castle. The licence to 'crenellate' passed the great seal in 1379. He probably deemed it well to provide a strong fortress for himself and his successors against the troublous times which, living as he did in the decline of Edward III. and the minority of Richard II., he may have seen were but too surely imminent.

The castle and village of Amberley stand about five miles north-east of Arundel, on a rocky spur of the downs looking out over the marshy and somewhat dreary meadows, which the winding river Arun waters and often overflows. The whole circuit of the outer wall, some fragments of the chapel, and the entrance gateway flanked with round towers, yet remain, and amply prove the massive solidity of the work.

Bishop Rede died in 1385, and desired by his will to be buried in the parish church of Selsey before the high altar.[1] His wish, however, was not acted upon, for he was buried in the cathedral, though without a monument. The due execution of his will in other matters also was delayed, for thirteen years later we find the dean and chapter petitioning his executors to account for the thirteen

[1] *Regist.* Abp. Courtenay.

silver gilt cups bequeathed by him for the use of the cathedral.[1]

Thomas Rushoke, 1385–1389.—For the next ten years the bishopric of Chichester was given to the partisans and favourites of the unhappy Richard II. Rede's successor, Thomas Rushoke, was prior of the Dominicans in Hereford, archdeacon of St. Asaph, and confessor to the king. In 1383, he was consecrated to the see of Llandaff in the chapel of the Blackfriars, London, and was translated to Chichester in 1385, at the request of his sovereign, by Pope Urban VI. From that thorough and merciless destruction or removal of all the king's personal friends and councillors which was effected by the confederate nobles in 1288, his confessor was naturally not exempt. After Richard had been frightened into submission to the Parliament which threatened to revive the statute by which Edward II. had been deposed, he signed a deed by which the royal power was taken out of his hands and transferred to a council—in fact, put into commission; but he soon afterwards held a council of judges at Nottingham, and charged them on their allegiance to declare what the law of the land was on the several questions proposed to them.

Thomas of Chichester, with the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham, witnessed the answers of the judges, in which they condemned the commission or council as utterly unconstitutional, declared the liability to capital punishment of all who had urged the king to sanction it, asserted the king's absolute power to determine the order in which questions should be debated in Parliament, and to dissolve Parliament at his pleasure. The bishop of Chichester was accused by the confederate lords of having extorted favourable answers from the

[1] *Regist.* Rede, 1397.

judges on this occasion by the use of threats, of having concealed the purposes of traitors against the national cause, and exposed by his connivance the whole realm to danger. He denied all the charges, but in vain. Under the name of Brother Thomas Rushoke, of the order of Preachers, he is included, together with his episcopal brethren of York and Durham, among the traitors, backbiters, flatterers, mischievous slanderers, and useless people whom the king must be compelled to dismiss from his court. Many of the royal favourites, knights, ladies, and clerics, were imprisoned in divers places, and some of them hanged or beheaded. The bishop of Chichester was subjected to the milder though not mild sentence of banishment to Ireland and the confiscation of all his property. He was sent to Cork, and was not to go more than two leagues beyond the town; but was to be indulged in the luxury of having two servants and forty marks a year 'if any of his friends would allow him so much.'

The king, however, recovered soon after his authority for a while, and the bishop was not only released but appointed to the see of Kilmore in Ireland, where he shortly afterwards died, in 1388–89.[1]

Richard Metford, 1389–1395.—It was partly through the influence of Rushoke that his successor, Richard Metford, had been promoted from a canonry at Windsor to the office of king's confessor and archdeacon of Norwich. He was also made treasurer of Ireland during the king's residence, and during the rebellion of 1388 was imprisoned for a time at Bristol, with other favourites of the king. After the revival of the royal authority, he was appointed by papal provision to the see of Chichester, and seems to have resided in his diocese. The cathedral chapter received a new body of statutes from him in 1391, and

[1] *Walsingham*, ii. 172. Rymer's *Fœd.* Rot. Pat. 13, Rd. ii.

the priest-vicars were indebted to him for the old Gilden Hall, between the churchyard and South Street, which he obtained from the crown for their use as a dining-hall and dormitory.[1] Bishop Metford was translated by papal provision to Sarum in 1395.

Robert Waldby, 1396.—The next bishop, Robert Waldby, was a native of York, and one of the most learned members of the house of Austin Friars in that city. He was eminent alike for his knowledge of languages and of medicine, and for his eloquence in preaching. Having attended the Black Prince during his campaigns in France, he was made Professor of Divinity at Toulouse, and in 1387 became bishop of Aise in Gascony. In 1391 he was translated to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, and in 1396 to Chichester, but he only held our see one year, being again translated, this time to York. He died in 1397, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, in the chapel of St. Edmund, under a large marble slab inlaid with an effigy in brass round which are some Latin rhymes, describing his virtues and preferments. The list of the latter is contained in the following couplet:—

> Præsul Adurensis post hæc Archas Dublinensis
> Hinc Cicestrensis, tandem primas Eboracensis.[2]

According to Bale, he wrote a treatise against the Wicliffites, and various other works, but none are extant.

[1] *MSS.* Lib. E. p. 165. The Gilden Hall on the *north side* and the house of Robert Sexteyn on the *south side*; such is the designation in the royal grant signed by the king at Westminster, 'decimo die Augusti anno regni nostri decimo octavo.'

[2] Drake's *Antiq. of York.*

CHAPTER V.

THE SEE DURING THE REIGN OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER—BISHOP ROBERT REDE—HIS VISITATION OF THE CATHEDRAL—EXTRACTS FROM HIS REGISTER—RAPID SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS—BISHOP PRATY—EXTRACTS FROM HIS REGISTER—HIS VISITATION OF MONASTIC HOUSES AND TRIALS OF LOLLARDS—MURDER OF BISHOP ADAM MOLEYNS—REGINALD PECOCK—THE SPIRE AND BELL TOWER OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Bishops.	Accession, A.D.	Contemporary sovereigns.
Robert Rede . . .	1397 . .	Richard II. Henry IV. Henry V.
Stephen Patryngton .	1417	
Henry Ware . . .	1418	
John Kemp . . .	1421 . .	Henry V.
Thomas Poldon . .	1421	
John Rickingale . .	1426	
Symon Sydenham . .	1431	
Richard Praty . .	1438 . .	Henry VI.
Adam Moleyns . .	1446	
Reginald Pecock . .	1450	

Robert Rede,[1] 1397–1415.—Bishop Robert Rede closes the long list of friars who, during this century and more especially during the reign of Richard II., were raised to the see of Chichester. He was a Dominican about King Richard's court, attended him to Ireland, and was there made bishop of Waterford by papal provision in 1394. In 1396 an election made by the canons of Carlisle to their see was set aside by the king in favour

[1] I have not found any evidence for or against his connexion with the family of his predecessor William Rede.

of Rede, and in twelve months he was translated, at the king's request, by the provision of Pope Boniface IX., to Chichester.[1] His register, the first which has been preserved, contains much information relating not only to the see but indirectly to the history of the church and realm, and illustrative of the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonial of the age. One of the earliest records in it[2] is a copy of a letter from the Primate Arundel, severely reproving his suffragan at Chichester for having put off the dress of his mendicant order and assumed the garb of a bishop belonging to the ranks of the secular clergy. He is peremptorily ordered to resume his Dominican habit, or else to appear and answer for his disobedience in the archbishop's court. We may suppose that the primate was obeyed, as there is no further memorandum on the subject. Archbishop Arundel was no friend to Richard II., and would not be inclined to be lenient towards bishops appointed through the royal favour. The deposition of the feeble king was effected soon afterwards, and it was the wisdom of bishops like Rede, who had risen through him, to hold aloof from public affairs as much as possible, and by a careful administration of their dioceses to approve themselves to the archbishop, who was the unscrupulous abettor of the supplanting cousin Henry of Lancaster. And the register of Rede affords ample evidence that in his labours as a diocesan he was unremitting.

His visitations of the cathedrals and of the conventual establishments were frequent, and not merely formal. A strict inquiry was made at such times into the condition of the buildings, the funds, and the morals of each community. The friars were generally regarded with jealousy and dislike by the secular clergy, which may account for

[1] *Godwin.* [2] Page 8.

the more than common carefulness with which Bishop Rede enforced his authority over the chapter of Chichester, and for some few symptoms of resentment to it on the part of the chapter, which, amidst much general deference, may be detected. The record of the visitation of the cathedral in the first year of his episcopate is about the most minute of any, and may be taken as a sample.[1]

The bishop slept on the night of June 3 at his manor house of Aldingbourne, and heard mass in his chapel there next morning, after which he rode to his palace at Chichester. Having rested there awhile and put on his robes, he walked to the west door of the cathedral, where he was met by the dean (John Maydenhithe), the treasurer, and the residentiary canons, seven in number, and the choir, who conducted him 'honorifically,' singing psalms as they walked before him, to the high altar, before which he prostrated himself, while a prayer, usual on such occasions, was offered over him, by the dean. The prayer being ended, the bishop gave the kiss of peace to the dean and other clergy, and all listened to an admirable discourse (*egregia collatio*) made by Father Peter, the vicar of Eastbourne, on the theme 'Pastor visitat gregem.' At the conclusion of the address the whole cathedral body, including the vicars, accompanied the bishop to the chapter house, who there requested the dean to deliver a formal certificate of his receipt of the bishop's mandate of visitation, together with a complete list of the members of the cathedral body and of the offices discharged by each. The dean replied that, owing to the very short interval which had elapsed between the letter of notice and the actual coming of the bishop, he had been unable to get a certificate drawn up and sealed in

[1] Page 25.

the usual form, but he had prepared as well as time would allow an informal acknowledgment of the notice, and a schedule containing the names of all who were present at the visitation. The bishop was pleased to accept the excuse graciously, but said that he could not in future take such a document as a substitute for the regular certificate. This difficulty being got over, another arose: the chapter were required to hand in their letters of orders, the names and titles of their several cures and offices, and to make profession of obedience to the bishop. This last demand was resisted, but ultimately the dean, treasurer, and archdeacon of Lewes, who were the chief dignitaries present, complied with it. The visitation was continued another day by Edmund Warham, archdeacon of Carmarthen, who seems to have attended the bishop in the capacity of chaplain. All the canons who were not present the day before were requested to make their profession of obedience. A contention again arose: the canons said that it had not been exacted from them by former bishops, and they asked for time to consider their decision, which was granted them. On July 9 following they finally consented, though not till after much altercation, to make their profession before the dean, acting as the bishop's commissary.[1]

The next step was to make a searching inquiry into the discipline of the establishment, to hear complaints of grievances and abuses, and to issue orders for their redress. The results of such investigations are recorded in some detail in the memorandum of each visitation. The record of the visitations held in 1403 is the fullest, and may be taken as a specimen.[2] It clearly proves how salutary such inquiries must have been, for the dean at that time seems to have been a lax, unconscientious

[1] *Regist.* p. 27, &c. [2] Page 31.

man, and a general spirit of laxity was in consequence creeping over the whole establishment. Out of a long list of *comperta et detecta* I have extracted the following:—

Many members of the chapter did not discharge the duties assigned to their office, and were not punished for their deficiencies by him to whom the duty of punishing belonged, namely, the dean.

Chapters were not held regularly at the appointed times, nor, when held, were corrections enforced for offences.

The 'uses' of the cathedral were not committed to writing, which led to confusion and irregularity in the performance of the services.

The dean was not sufficiently strict in reproving the vicars for irreverence in service.

Many of the canons did not attend all the appointed hours of service, and some of them were in the habit of leaving before the service was completed.

The dean had not enforced the statute that no residentiary should receive his share in the daily distribution of the common bread unless he had been present at matins.

He had accepted one hundred shillings from a vicar as a fine for immoral conduct, instead of trying him in the ecclesiastical court.

The chancellor was not properly diligent in giving instruction in grammar to the choristers, or in causing the cathedral books, which were grievously out of repair, to be mended and bound.

One of the canons, Master John Paxton, seems to have suffered severely from kleptomania. He was charged with having carried off to his own house and for his own use some timber and other building materials brought for

the repair of the cathedral. He confessed to having taken one plank.

He was also accused of having taken £3 out of the treasury chest without the knowledge of the chapter—to have given one to the dean, another to a friend, and to have kept the third for himself.

Also he was in the habit of irreverently making a short cut between the cathedral and his house through the chapel of St. Faith,[1] and maintained that it was a long-established right of a residentiary canon to do so.

Master John, however, now expressed humble contrition for his delinquencies, and promised to make full restitution of the things which he had pilfered.

The names of all who were cited are given in full at the close of the record of each visitation, whence it appears that at this time, out of thirty-one canons, the usual number of residents was from five to seven, and vicars and chantry priests mustered twenty-six.

The bishop commonly held a visitation of the city parishes when the visitation of the cathedral was ended. The rectors, vicars, and six or four of the chief laymen in each parish were cited to meet the bishop at the subdean's altar in the church of St. Peter in the nave of the cathedral. Here the bishop or his commissary heard complaints and accusations, if there were any, not only against the clergy for misconduct or negligence, but also

[1] The chapel of St. Faith was a chantry chapel described in the old documents as *infra claustrum*. The western end of it completely occupied the angle at the junction of the southern and eastern walks of our present cloisters. Thus there was no passage round as there is now, and Master John found it convenient in going between the cathedral and Canon Lane to pass through the chapel, making his exit or entrance by the door now leading into the vicar's close, which was the south door of the chapel. After the suppression of the chantries the western end of the chapel was taken down in the cloister, so as to make a complete circuit, but the upper part, including the gable, still remains.

against lay people for offences, many of which now fall within the province of the criminal court. If the cases were considered sufficiently grave, they were reserved for trial in the bishop's Consistory Court.

A complaint commonly made in Bishop Rede's time was that many rectors did not reside in their parishes, but were occupied elsewhere in secular affairs, or let their livings and went about the country acting as stipendiary curates for other non-resident rectors. There is a letter in Bishop Rede's register addressed to the Sequestrator for the Archdeaconry of Lewes in A.D. 1399, directing him to cite all such rectors to appear before the bishop to give an account of their conduct, and to do and receive what is due for their deeds, to the good of their own souls, the welfare of the church and the avoiding of scandal; and until such time as they have appeared and amended their conduct, the sequestrator is to collect and hold the proceeds of their livings, sufficient provision being made for their needs.[1]

A bishop's register at this period was by no means concerned merely with matters of local and diocesan interest. The commands of the sovereign to the clergy to act their part as loyal subjects in divers national affairs;—summonses to Parliament, directions to collect the subsidies voted in the last convocation, proclamations that they be armed and arrayed to repel a threatened invasion from France,[2]—all these are duly recorded in regular form and order. This is the same in all cases. First comes the king's letter addressed to the primate, then the primate's letter to the bishop of London commanding that the instructions contained in the royal brief be carried out in his diocese, and forwarded to all the other suffragans. Then follows the bishop of London's letter to the bishop of Chichester, repeating the contents of the king's and

[1] Page 6. [2] Page 7, A.D. 1399.

primate's letters; and lastly there is the letter of the bishop of Chichester himself, addressed to his archdeacons, charging them to execute the mandate, whatever it is, in the several deaneries under their care.

One example may be cited as the most interesting and curious. In the year 1400 a remarkable royal visitor arrived in England. The Greek Empire had been reduced to a melancholy shadow of its ancient greatness and glory by the encroachments of the Ottoman Turks under the Sultan Bajazet I. The Emperor John Palæologus was but a tributary king, often, more truly, a prisoner, in his own capital Constantinople, and even his nominal territory was reduced to a narrow strip about fifty miles long, between the Propontis and Black Sea. On the death of John Palæologus his son Manuel succeeded to this ghost of an empire. Bajazet's ambition could hardly be restrained from attacking Constantinople itself, and a truce for ten years was purchased by an annual tribute of thirty thousand golden crowns. But the truce was soon broken by the sultan, and the capital was again threatened. In his despair Manuel sought and gained some aid from France. Boucicault, a French marshal, succeeded in raising the blockade of Constantinople, but the relief was only temporary. The Turks quickly returned in greater force, and the marshal was compelled to withdraw. By his advice, Manuel now resolved to visit the principal courts in Europe and make a suppliant appeal on behalf of his unhappy country. He passed through Italy and France. Profound pity and respect were everywhere shown to the humbled representative of the mighty line of emperors. In France he was sumptuously entertained and laden with gifts; but he soon saw that no substantial help could be got from a realm where the king was, with rare intervals, insane, and the government was distracted

between two rival dukes. Manuel therefore crossed the Channel to England, and here, too, he was welcomed with every mark of respect. In his progress from Dover he was entertained at Canterbury by the prior and monks of St. Augustine, and at Blackheath, on St. Thomas's day, he was met by the king, Henry IV., who received him, says Walsingham, 'as became such a hero, conducted him to London, entertained him grandly many days at his own expense, and bestowed liberal presents upon him.' But Henry had far too much to do in making good his own position against conspiracies and rebellions at home to part with any of his forces, much less to quit the country himself in order to prop up the tottering empire of Manuel. He announced his intention, however, of taking the cross, an announcement which would raise him in the estimation alike of his own subjects and of his royal guest, and meanwhile, he took steps to replenish the purse of Manuel. The register of Bishop Rede contains a copy of the king's brief forwarded in the usual way through the primate and the bishop of London to all the suffragans of the southern province.[1] The king exhorts his subjects to contribute liberally to a crusade on behalf of the Christian emperor and city of Constantinople against Bajazet, who is designated as 'the accursed and perfidious prince of the Turks.' The pope would bestow a full pardon on all who in penitence for past sins should beg alms for so pious a cause.

A bishop *in partibus*, Thomas Botyler, bishop of Chrysopolis, had been appointed collector of contributions in place of the bishop of Chalcedon, who was unable to discharge the office in person, and all chests containing collections were to be deposited with him on a given day at St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The bishop of Chichester,

[1] Page 4.

in obedience to the royal letter, directs the archdeacon of Lewes to furnish him with an exact return of the names of collectors appointed in his archdeaconry, of the amounts collected, of the places where the coffers or cists were deposited, and of the persons to whose custody the keys were entrusted.

There is no record of the amount of money raised in the diocese, but all the chests of alms save one seem to have reached their destination in safety. A letter from the bishop to the king states that one of the collectors, a Dominican friar, a stranger in the diocese, had given his collecting-box to a brother of the Dominican house in Chichester, and the key to another. Shortly afterwards he had asked for box and key, with which he had disappeared. The bishop had taken the utmost pains, but in vain, to catch the thief, but would take care that the two Chichester friars should appear in the King's Court at Westminster, to render an account of the matter.

A more effectual power, however, than English money rid Manuel of his enemy. After lingering two years in Europe he heard that Bajazet had been slain in battle by the mighty and terrible Mogul Timour, in the battle of Angora. Timour would have been more formidable than Bajazet, but his power, too, fell to pieces. He never crossed into Europe; Manuel reigned till 1417 in prosperity and peace, and the final overthrow of Constantinople was delayed for fifty years.[1]

The episcopate of Bishop Rede falls within the period when the Lollards or Wycliffites caused the greatest alarm and annoyance alike to the ecclesiastical and civil powers, and when the most vigorous efforts were made to put them down. They might be called the political dissenters of that day, for they proclaimed not only what

[1] See *Gibbon*, xi. 43, and xii. 73 to 88, Milman's edition.

was deemed heresy in religion but revolutionary doctrines in politics. The power of Henry IV. was not so firmly planted as to enable him to despise the possible influence of such teaching on the minds of the people, and by prosecuting the heretics he hoped to secure the wealth and interest of the clergy on his side. Treason and heresy were in those days regarded as two sides of the same crime; the Lollards were thus twofold rebels, and the statute *De heretico comburendo*, passed in 1402, by virtue of which bishops were empowered to hand over obstinate Lollards to the sheriff, bailiff, or mayor, to be burned in a conspicuous place, was the product of an alliance between the ecclesiastical and civil powers to crush an enemy equally dangerous to both.

One of the first victims who suffered under this new statute was John Badby, a tailor of Evesham, who was tried before Archbishop Arundel at St. Paul's, London. The primate was supported by assessors consisting of several lay lords, the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, Winchester, Norwich, and Chichester. Badby was a brave and conscientious man, and his demeanour excited the admiration of all and the pity of the primate, who endeavoured to persuade the court to spare his life, but the lay lords were inexorable. The most notorious Lollard of the day was Sir John Oldcastle, commonly called Lord Cobham. By his ability and position he was a formidable leader of the sect, and as such it was determined to make an example of him, to strike terror into all offenders of a humbler rank. A minute record of his several appearances and declarations of belief in the Archbishop's Court, and the final condemnation passed upon him, was circulated for transcription into the registers of all the bishops, at least in the southern province, and may be read in full in the register of our Bishop Rede;

but as it has been printed elsewhere,[1] I shall not here present it to the reader, but reserve notices of prosecution of Lollards for extracts from the register of Bishop Praty forty years later. The case of Oldcastle was a kind of typical case, and his trial was probably intended to be a guide to bishops in dealing with smaller offenders, as it contains a very full list of the heretical opinions held by the Lollards. Oldcastle twice escaped from prison, and was not finally captured and executed till 1417.

The episcopate of Rede almost exactly tallies with that of the primate, Arundel. The archbishop died in 1414, Bishop Rede in 1415; of the month there is no record, so that we cannot tell whether he lived to hear the thrilling news of the glorious victory of Agincourt, won in that year. After Bishop Rede a break occurs in the registers for several years. Six prelates occupied the see in rapid succession, and the aggregate of their episcopates makes up but twenty years.

Stephen Patryngton, 1417.—The see lay vacant for two years after Rede's death, and the next bishop, Stephen Patryngton, was very probably never in Chichester, if in any part of his diocese. He was provincial of the Carmelites in England, and was a man of great energy and ability, which he displayed chiefly by his share in the proceedings of the day against the Wycliffites. The letter addressed by the doctors of the four mendicant orders in Oxford to John of Gaunt, in 1382, representing the heretical teaching of Nicolas Hereford, Philip Repyndon, and other professors, or, as they style them, 'perverters' of Scripture in the university, was drawn up by Patryngton; and when proceedings were taken against the Lollards at Oxford, he is specially mentioned in a letter of the king to the chan-

[1] In the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* and (translated) in Dean Hook's *Archbishops—Life of Arundel*, p. 512, &c.

cellor (who was infected with Lollardism) as one who was not to be molested in the discharge of his duty against the heretics. There are good reasons also for supposing that the curious and valuable collection of papers relating to the history of Wycliff and his school, which are known by the name of the 'Fasciculi Zizaniorum,' may have been put together by Patryngton, and not, as has commonly been supposed, by Thomas Walden.[1] Patryngton was made bishop of St. David's in 1415, and attended the Council of Constance in 1417, in which year he was translated to Chichester, and died in the course of a few months. According to Weaver, his death took place in London, and he was buried in the church of the White Friars.

Henry Ware, 1418–1420.—His successor, Henry Ware, had been prebendary of St. Paul's, canon of Chichester, and manager of the primate's Peculiars in that diocese. He was elected by the chapter, but applied to Pope Martin V. for confirmation, in consequence of which he had to go through the usual anomaly of publicly renouncing, in the presence of the king, Henry V., everything which the papal bull contained prejudicial to the authority of the crown. Bishop Ware died in 1420, and was succeeded in 1421 by John Kemp, who occupied the see one year only. His connexion with Chichester was so brief, and his life has been so amply and ably written by Dean Hook, that it would be quite superfluous to say more about him here, than just to remind the reader of the extraordinary number of his preferments. His case must have been regarded by the Lollards as a glaring illustration of the system of pluralities of which they demanded a reform. In the course of thirty-five years he held the office of dean of

[1] See preface to the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, by Professor Shirley.

arches, vicar-general of the primate, and archdeacon of Durham, became, in rapid succession, bishop of Rochester, Chichester, London, archbishop of York, and primate of all England, and was, at the same time, chancellor of the realm and a cardinal of Rome.

> Bis Primas, ter Præsul erat, bis Cardine functus,
> Et dixit legem, bis Cancellarius Anglis.[1]

Thomas Poldon, 1421–1426.—Of Bishop Poldon very little is known, though he occupied the see for five years. He was an Austin Friar, was made bishop of Hereford in 1421, and translated by papal provision to Chichester in 1421, and again to Worcester in 1426. He attended the Council of Constance in 1417, and in 1432, being ambassador at Rome, was appointed by the king, Henry VI., to attend the Council of Basle. A subsidy of twopence in the pound was granted by the clergy to defray his expenses; he had license from the king to carry with him plate and jewels to the value of 1,000 marks, and, if the council lasted more than a year, he was to have an annual allowance of 500 marks.[2] He died, however, the year after the council opened, and was buried in Rome, where, probably, he had for the most part resided.

John Rickingale, 1426–1429.—Bishop Rickingale had been chancellor of Cambridge from 1416 to 1423. At the time of his appointment to Chichester he was master of Gonville and Caius, chancellor of York, and rector of Shelford Parva, in Cambridgeshire. He obtained the see of Chichester chiefly through the interest of John, duke of Bedford, to whom he was confessor. In public affairs he seems to have taken no part, nor are any of his episcopal acts recorded. He was buried in the cathedral, and left

[1] The first of these lines was said to have been written by his brother Thomas Kemp, bishop of London; the second was added by Fuller.

[2] Rymer, *Fœd.*

directions in his will that his effigy in marble should be placed over his grave.[1] It is in the north aisle of the choir, and is one of the few episcopal monuments in the cathedral which have been little injured by time or human hands.

Simon Sydenham, 1429–1438.—As little is known of his successor. Bishop Sydenham had been archdeacon of Berks and dean of Sarum. At the recommendation of the university of Oxford a certain Thomas Brown was elected by the canons of Chichester to fill the see, but their election was set aside by papal provision in favour of Sydenham. He paid 700 florins to the papal court on his appointment, a sum which the popes continued to exact from his successors. By his will he bequeaths a golden cup and lid, which he had received from the emperor, to William, Baron Hungerford, which is some confirmation of a tradition that he was ambassador to the emperor.

Richard Praty, 1438–1446.—With the episcopate of Praty our information concerning the diocese is full, as his register has been preserved. Of his earlier life we only know that he had been fellow of Oriel, and was made chancellor of Sarum in 1432, and dean of the chapel royal, both which he held *in commendam* with the bishopric of Chichester. He was a favourite of the king, who wrote a long letter to the pope, Eugenius IV., requesting the confirmation of his appointment to the see.

His enthronization is minutely described in his register.[2] He had spent a week at the priory of Boxgrave, and, on the morning of the day appointed for the ceremony, September 8, 1438, he rode on horseback to Chichester. Outside the middle gate of the cathedral precincts, which led into the streets, he dismounted, and

[1] Regist. *Chicheley*. [2] Page 84.

went into a certain chamber on the ground floor, where he took off his boots (and, we may suppose, put on his pontifical robes). Within the gate he was met by Richard Dartmouth, abbot of Battle, with his mitre on head and staff in hand, by the dean, the precentor, the treasurer, the archdeacons of Chichester and Lewes, four canons, and the whole choir in silken copes, decently apparelled, and arrayed in a processional manner. He was conducted by them through the western door into the cathedral, first to the pulpit, where he made a solemn address (*collationem*) to the people, thence to the high altar, which he kissed. After this the dean, acting as commissary for the archdeacon of Canterbury, 'honorifically' enthroned him in the episcopal chair. The bishop then solemnly celebrated the mass of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin at the high altar, assisted by the abbot of Battle, other abbots, and of clergy a 'copious multitude.' At the conclusion of the ceremony the bishop presided at a great banquet in his palace, and on the following day he held a visitation of the cathedral.

Probably not much was done on this occasion, as the memorandum of it is brief. At another visitation in 1441 the usual inquiry into the condition of the establishment was made. The dean was absent; seven residents, the archdeacon of Lewes being one, appeared; twenty-four non-residents and twenty-five vicars are mentioned by name in the list of persons cited. No difficulty seems to have been made this time about promising professional obedience, but some serious delinquencies and abuses seem to have been detected. It was discovered that the vicars did not observe the oath by which they were bound to be present daily at mass, hours, and processions, in the chapel of our Ladye, and that they did not sing when they did attend. The form

of the mandate to amend their conduct is curious—'Mandamus quod effectualiter psalletis, ac secundum scientiam desuper vobis datam cantetis responsoria quando opus fuerit . . . . ut ex his et aliis vestris meritis valeatis in cœlis.'

Many of the vicars-choral, especially the younger and stronger ones, did not get up to matins, so that often not more than three or four were present.

Several of the chantries were not filled up, or the duties thereof were neglected by the chantry priests.

The canons often went to dine outside the city, not leaving enough to feed their vicars, who were obliged to go and get a meal where they could, to the scandal of the church.

Some of the prebendal houses were in a ruinous state.

Games of ball and other sports were carried on by children, as well as public traffic by adults, in the cloisters and graveyard. These last offences were peremptorily forbidden by the bishop.

Some instances of a curious mixture of Wycliffite opinions and abject superstitious practices appear at this time in the diocese, and were no doubt very common throughout the kingdom, especially among the secluded country clergy. One instance is recorded at length in Bishop Praty's register. In the course of his first progress through his diocese it was represented to him that a certain John Boreham,[1] who had been parish priest of Selhurst for twenty years, had held and taught the people publicly and privately, both in and out of the church, divers heresies, errors, and pestiferous opinions of the accursed John Wycliff; also that he had and hath divers books and tracts of accursed reading in the vulgar tongue. The bishop wishing to find out the truth,

[1] Pp. 85–86.

caused the said John Boreham to be cited to appear before him in the parish church. Boreham appeared on the appointed day, and after many charges had been brought against him constantly denied them all, and craved leave to purge himself from all and singular. The bishop consented, and bade him appear a week hence in the parish church of Eastbourne, to swear upon the Gospels that he was clear of these errors. At the appointed time and place, however, Boreham did not appear. The bishop, therefore, pronounced him contumacious. About a month later a gentleman named Thomas Eckyngton caught the unfortunate Boreham in London and sent him to the bishop, then at Amberley Castle. On October 27, Boreham was brought before the bishop in the parish church of Amberley. The bishop sitting in front of the altar, asked him why he had not appeared at Eastbourne as appointed. Boreham replied that he feared the sentence which might be passed on him, and had fled to London, where he had been captured. The bishop ordered him to be kept in custody and to be brought before him on November 4 in the cathedral for a final hearing. On this day accordingly Thomas Boys, the bishop's gaoler, brought Boreham into the cathedral, where (but in what part is not mentioned) the bishop sat with his assessors, the archdeacon of Lewes and Walter Eston, licentiate in law. The articles of accusation were cited in Latin and English. Boreham swore on the Gospels that he would return true answers to each. The chief articles were these:

He had used exorcism to expel demons from people.—*Confessed.*

Declared that he could expel evil spirits better than many priests by the aid of baptism could do it.—*Denied.*

Believed that by incantations and abjurations made

over willow wands he could cure fevers, as long as the ends of such rods were hung round the necks of the sufferers.—*Confessed.*

Had written divers letters containing the said incantations, and sold them to men and women as a remedy against fevers, &c.—Confessed that he had given such things, but denied that he had sold them.

Had disparaged the sacrament of confession, and of the altar, as unnecessary to salvation.—*Denied.*

Had consorted with and aided heretics, instead of discovering them to the ordinary.—*Denied.*

Had books of Wycliff and of Holy Scripture in English, and knew others who had such books, yet had not informed against them within forty days.—Confessed that he had the four Gospels in English and also some books of incantations.

The examination under these several heads being ended, John Boreham, kneeling down in the most humble manner before the bishop, craved to be absolved from the penalty of the greater excommunication which he had incurred. His petition was granted; he again swearing on the Gospels that he would never henceforth teach or cause to be taught or defend any of the errors mentioned in the above articles, or any other errors contrary to the teaching of holy church.

The bishop's inquiry into cases of heresy was not confined to his own diocese. Henry Beaufort, cardinal bishop of Winchester, appointed him as his commissary for trying cases of heresy, witchcraft, sorcery, and necromancy in those parts of his diocese which bordered on the diocese of Chichester. There is a letter in Bishop Praty's register addressed to the dean of Guildford, desiring him to send Robert Pratt and William Pratt of the parish of Ockley, and certain other persons accused

of practising unlawful arts, to appear before the bishop in the parish church of Aldingbourne, as not being more than a day's journey distant from the edge of the Winchester diocese. They made humble confession of their guilt, and expressed the deepest contrition. The abjuration in English made by Robert Pratt is here transcribed, as a specimen of the language at that time:—

'I, Robert Pratt, of Ekle, yn the diocise of Wynchestre, afore yow reverent fader in God Richard, bisshop of Chichestre, in this matter commissarie unto the most reverent fader in God Harry, by the sufferance of God, cardinall of Engelond and bisshop of Wynchestre, swere that fro this tyme forthwarde as long as I lyve I shall not use ne do no supstitious craftes, ne craft of divination, nigromancye or sorcerie; ne I shall nought geve helpe, conseill ne favour knowyngly to no persone that useth or doth such craftes, prevyly or openly, and alle supstitious craftes, divinations, etc., and alle manere craftes agenst the feyth, inordinate rites, and deceyving of the people in getying of money by unlawfull craft, I abjure, forswere, and curse, so God me helpe, and the holy dome,[1] and by this booke.'

The Pratts were let off from the greater excommunication, but as a penance they were commanded to present themselves at the church of Guildford in shirt and breeches only, each holding a wax candle weighing half a pound, to march in procession round the churchyard and church before service, and remain kneeling on the chancel steps until the offertory. At the offertory they were humbly to give up the wax lights to the priest. The same ceremony was to be gone through on two following Sundays in the parish churches of Dorking and Ockley.[2]

Bishop Praty's register is full of information con-

[1] *i.e.* 'halidom,' or sacred oath.

[2] Pp. 46–48.

cerning the monastic establishments in Sussex. It is beside the purpose of this work to enter into any detail on this subject. Only such facts are here extracted as illustrate the relation of the bishop to such communities, and the tendency in them to those corruptions which in great measure justified their dissolution. The great abbey of Battle and the great Cluniac priory of St. Pancras at Lewes were exempt from the bishop's authority; but in the smaller houses the election of abbots or priors was subject to his confirmation, and the whole establishment was subject to his visitation. The register contains many instances of the form of confirmation. When the election of an abbot or prior was certified to the bishop to have been made in canonical form by the monks assembled in chapter, his confirmation was supplicated. The Bishop gave orders that a proclamation should be published summoning any opponents to the election to appear before him on a certain day in one of his chapels to state objections. If no one appeared, it was then declared at the altar and at the doors of the church that any objectors who might have appeared, but had not, were contumacious, and could never henceforth raise any objections. The election was then declared to be confirmed, and it only remained for the elected to make his canonical obedience. Of this latter ceremony we have a good specimen in the case of the abbot of Beyham. Having been elected and confirmed, he appeared on a given day before the bishop in his chapel at Chichester and asked his blessing.

The bishop having assented, put on his robes and said the mass of the Holy Ghost in a low voice, and in 'the solemnity' of the said mass pronounced a blessing on the abbot. The canonical obedience was then professed in Latin in this form:—

'In the name of God, Amen! I, Thomas Shorham, abbot of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Beyham, in the diocese of Chichester, to the Reverend Father in Christ and divine master, Richard, by the grace of God, bishop of Chichester, and your successors canonically entering, profess and promise that I will pay due canonical obedience, reverence, and subjection in all things, so help me God and these Holy Gospels of God. And in confirmation of all the aforesaid, I subscribe with my own hand, in presence of the venerable and discreet Master Thomas Boleyn, Bachelor of Law, &c., cross bearers, and a "copious multitude."'[1]

The bishop visited almost all the priories in his diocese. Nearly the same tale is told of each; a few were unexceptionable in all respects, but by far the greater number were burdened with debt and lax in discipline.

Boxgrave was one of the few which now, as later, seems to have been thoroughly respectable.

The priory of Easebourne (near Midhurst) was in debt £40, owing to the expensive habits of the prioress: she dressed in costly garments; her fur mantle had cost 100 shillings. She made the sisters work and gave them nothing for it, but took all the proceeds of the work for herself.

The bishop suspended the prioress from administration of the temporalities, which were to be put in charge of guardians until the priory was out of debt.

She was forbidden to force the sisters to work. The proceeds of any work which they did voluntarily were to go half to themselves and half to the use of the house and discharge of the debt.

She was to dress as became her order, and to reduce her household and personal expenses. These injunctions she was charged to obey in virtue of her canonical obedience and on pain of deposition if disobedient.[2]

[1] Page 64. [2] Page 80.

At Rusper the sisters complained that the prioress never rendered any account to them of her administration of the property.[1]

The priory of Sele was poor and in debt; there were only four brethren, and the various offices could not be filled up. The prior was accused of dreadful crimes. The bishop's commissary who held the visitation here suspended him, but he afterwards made his peace with the bishop and was restored.

At New Hastings the priory was in debt, and contained only three brothers, but they hoped to be released ere long from it by the industry of the present prior. Schulbrede also was in debt, but hoped, in like manner, to get out of it in the course of a few years.

Michelham Priory was in a worse plight. It was deeply in debt, without a prospect of paying it off, for the prior sold everything for his own profit—oak timber, millstones and mill-gear, horses, books, and documents. He administered everything without consulting the chapter. *Solus recipit, solus solvit.*

When the commissary of the bishop went to Rye, he found that the custos of St. Bartholomew's Hospital for poor men had not resided for six or seven years; the house and chapel were in ruins, the revenues were farmed by a layman. The commissary departed, not knowing what to do.[2]

This is not a pleasing picture of the general condition of monastic life at that period. In fact, the smaller monasteries at least were as ripe for suppression now as they were a hundred years later, had circumstances made such a measure to the interest of the crown. The bishops could only patch the evil a little here and there; a complete reform was, in the nature of things, impossible. The institutions were corrupt because they had done their

[1] Page 80. [2] Pp. 81, 82.

work, and a pure and genuine love of monastic life had passed away, together with the causes which first called it into existence. All honour, however, to Bishop Praty and others like him who did their best; the exposure and denunciation of scandals can never be wholly thrown away. The protection, even of papal privileges, was pleaded in vain before him. He excommunicated a vicar in his diocese, who was *pessimæ famæ*. The vicar maintained in the Court of Arches that he was released from the excommunication by virtue of the power of absolution conferred by Pope Eugenius on a certain priest of the brotherhood of St. Anthony. The bishop, however, paid no heed to the plea, but held the excommunication in force, and deprived the man of his living; nor would he ever restore it even at the request of the earl of Arundel, or of others who tried to move him.[1]

The mandate for the collection of a tenth from all beneficed clergy, voted to the king by Convocation in 1440, affords us some insight into the financial condition of Sussex livings at this period.[2] Exemptions from the tax were allowed under three heads:—

I. Livings vacant owing to destitution (*propter exilitatem*). Of these there were ten in the archdeaconry of Chichester and three in the archdeaconry of Lewes.

II. Parishes injured by inundation or fire. Of such there was one in the archdeaconry of Chichester, West Thorney, and seven in the archdeaconry of Lewes.

III. Livings whose annual value did not exceed twelve marks (about £8), and in which the rectors or vicars personally resided. Of such there is a list of about ninety in the archdeaconry of Chichester, and about seventy in the archdeaconry of Lewes.

A complaint had been made by the universities to

[1] Hearne's *Hemingford*. [2] Page 42.

Convocation, that few graduates were appointed by patrons to benefices. The bishops were requested by Convocation to make an exact return of all graduate incumbents. The bishop of Chichester, in sending his list, accompanies it with the remark, that in his diocese the chief reason why graduates were not appointed was that, owing to the extreme poverty of many of the livings, they did not care to accept them.

One more entry in Bishop Praty's register must be noticed; reminding us that we are in the reign of Henry VI., and that to this king, weak and foolish though he was, the country owes the foundation of that noble seat of learning, where statesmen, poets, warriors, scholars, divines, have been reared, whose bones are buried in that mighty abbey of which the foundation is due, by a curious coincidence, to another king equally weak and foolish, Eadward the Confessor. This entry is the bull of Pope Eugenius, A.D. 1442, granting plenary indulgence to all who, on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, should visit Eton College. The bull was to be published in all churches of the diocese when a full congregation was assembled.[1]

Bishop Praty died in 1445. By his will he desires that his body be buried before the high altar, to which he bequeaths also ornaments and plate.[2]

Adam Moleyns, or *Molyneux*, A.D. 1446–1450, his successor, is the only one in the line of bishops of Chichester who came to a violent end. He was made archdeacon of Taunton in 1440, and dean of Sarum in 1441, in which year he sat as commissary to try Elinor Cobham, duchess of Gloucester, for witchcraft; and, in the same year, he went to Rome to urge the canonization of Osmund, second bishop of Sarum, but did not meet with success. In 1443

[1] Page 51. [2] Reg. *Stafford*.

he accompanied William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, to France to arrange the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou. His share in the introduction of that unhappy princess into England, the 'outlandish woman' as she was vulgarly called, and his connexion with the party of Suffolk, which was generally in favour of peace with France, was the main cause of his extreme unpopularity. The country sighed after the glories of the reign of Henry V., and regarded a departure from his aggressive policy as an evidence of pusillanimity, if not of treasonable sympathy with our adversary of France.

Bishop Adam must have been a favourite with the king, for he obtained grants of extraordinary privileges. One grant exempted all coast-land belonging to the bishop and church of Chichester from the power and jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty. By another he had leave to 'impark' 2,000 acres of meadow and land in Amberley, Rakeham, and Cold Waltham; 2,000 at Durringswyke; 1,000 in West Wittering and Cakeham; 2,000 in Bexhill; 2,000 in Bishopstone and Heathfield; 2,000 in the Bruyll; 1,000 in Ticehurst. Besides this, licence was given by the same grant to case with stone and fortify his manor-houses at the Bruyll, Amberley, Aldingbourne, Durringswyke, Bexhill, Preston, Sydlesham, Selseye, Cakeham, Ferring, Wittering, and Ticehurst.[1]

Had all these grants been carried into effect, the bishop of Chichester, as a territorial lord, would have occupied no mean position; but his end was at hand. In the year 1449 he received another mark of royal favour—permission to retire from all secular employments, and from attendance at Parliament, and to travel on either side of the Channel for the welfare of his soul, taking with him a sum of 500 marks for his decent main-

[1] *Rot. Pat.* 24, Henry VI., and *Cart.* 25 and 26.

tenance. This licence was made out on December 9, 1449.[1] On the ninth of the following January he was at Portsmouth preparing to sail for the Continent, when he was assassinated by some sailors, but where and in what manner is not recorded.[2] It was commonly reported at the time that the men were bribed to the act by the duke of York, the leader of the party hostile to Suffolk; but York was at this time in Ireland, and can hardly have been aware of the bishop's movements, even if there was reason to believe that his personal or political animosity against the bishop was strong enough to urge him to so foul a deed. It is more likely that the sailors were naturally savage men, rendered perhaps yet more ferocious by drink, and if, in such a state, they found one of the most unpopular men of the day within their grasp, it is not very difficult to account for the murder. It was a time when the public indignation against Suffolk and his party ran very high, for the fairest possessions of the English in France, from Rouen to Bordeaux, had been lost. The bishop of Chichester, moreover, had acted as a commissioner with Suffolk at Tours for the settlement of a truce with France of eighteen months, which had been prolonged to the year 1449. The sailors, therefore, may very likely have hoped to get a reward for their deed from the Yorkist party, though there is no proof that they were actually bribed to it. Suffolk himself was executed, or rather murdered, at sea by the adverse faction in the following May.

Bishop Adam bequeathed several gifts of ecclesiastical furniture to the cathedral, among which is specially mentioned a rare and costly crimson veil of silk to hang over the high altar.[3]

[1] *Rot. Pat.* and Rymer's *Fœd.*, 25 and 26 Henry VI.
[2] Stowe's *Annals.* [3] *MSS.* E.

Reginald Pecock, 1450–1459.—The successor of Adam Moleyns was in some respects the most eminent prelate, and one of the most remarkable men of his time. Reginald Pecock, indeed, is such a conspicuous figure in general history, and his life, character, and writings have already been so fully and ably examined and criticised, that it would be beside the scope of the present work to go over the ground again in detail.[1] It will suffice to draw a brief though careful sketch of his career, mainly in order to warn the student once more against the old and vulgar misconception that Pecock was a pure and consistent Protestant and Reformer before the Reformation. Nothing can be farther from the truth than such an estimate. His character was complex, his proceedings inconsistent, variable, and therefore perplexing; but there is no mistaking certain salient features in the man which are the key to unlock most of the difficulties. His mingled cleverness and excessive vanity made him eager to defend a position in the face of vehement opposition. He loved notoriety, and the more paradoxical and untenable the position he maintained, the better pleased he was, because it afforded more scope for the display of his learning and talent. And these he unquestionably had. He had been indefatigable in his study of sacred and profane literature at Oriel, Oxford, where he was elected fellow in 1417. His reputation caused him to be summoned to court. He was made rector of a London parish by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, then Protector of the kingdom. He threw himself eagerly into the controversies of the day, and wrote several treatises to convince the Lollards of their errors. His distinction in this sphere

[1] In this notice of Pecock I have found it impossible to add much, if anything, to the able and exhaustive summary of his life in Mr. Babington's preface to the *Repressor*, brought out in the Master of the Rolls' series.

earned him promotion; in 1444 he was raised by papal provision to the see of St. Asaph, the diocese in which he had been born. Three years after this his public notoriety began. He appeared at Paul's Cross in 1447 as the ingenious advocate of all the principal abuses of the church in the fifteenth century.

The bishops were accused by the Reformers of the day, Lollards and churchmen alike, of neglecting the duty of preaching. Pecock, in his sermon, undertook to show that it was not their chief business to preach. The non-residence of bishops and clergy and addiction to secular affairs were loudly complained of; Pecock maintained that these were not only harmless, but salutary. He even defended the system of papal provisions, and the payment of annates as not more but less than the Pope's due. So well pleased was he with his own performance on this occasion, that he condensed his discourse after delivery under seven heads, which he forwarded to divers persons, and among others to Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, at that time Lord Privy Seal. His own estimate of the work, written in another of his treatises, illustrates the self-satisfaction and vanity of the man. 'I wote wel' (he says in the 'Follower to the Donet,' fol. 59,) 'tho conclusions wolen be holde for trewe of ech greet leernyd man in dyvynite or in lawe of canoun, while the world schal dure;' and he observed to a friend that henceforth no one would speak evil of bishops. These flattering expectations, however, were disappointed. All the sophistries of the special pleader were swept away like cobwebs by the voice of public indignation, which denounced the bishops more loudly than ever, and Pecock in particular. Learned men in both universities, notably Dr. Millington of Cambridge, and the friars of Oxford, took up the strain. The bishops could not be expected to be severe

against their brother, the champion of their order, but they must secretly have cried, 'Defend us from our friend,' especially when Pecock, nothing daunted, preached again two years afterwards in London to the same effect.

In fact, the great vindicator of bishops from the obligation of preaching was himself an industrious preacher, as well as writer, and by his sermons in his own diocese, and by numerous treatises, he kept the flame of controversy alive.

The bursting of the full storm of indignation upon him was precipitated by two events—his elevation to the see of Chichester in 1450, and the publication a few years afterwards of his great work, entitled 'The Repressor of overmuch Blaming of the Clergy.' His appointment to the bishopric was due to the interest of the most unpopular man of the day, William de la Pole, the favourite of Queen Margaret of Anjou, who had compassed the death of Humphrey Plantagenet, 'good duke Humphrey;' a title which he earned by his vehement opposition to the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret, the 'outlandish woman.' Bishop Moleyns, his predecessor, as we have seen, was murdered owing to his unpopularity in having helped to bring about that marriage. Suffolk himself was soon afterwards sentenced to banishment, and assassinated at sea on his way out of the country. The bishop of Norwich, the queen's confessor, and a friend of Pecock, was driven from his see.

At the same time the 'Repressor,' and another work which appeared soon afterwards, called 'A Treatise on Faith,' were calculated to alienate Pecock's friends, the old High Church prelates and their party, without conciliating the Reformers. The 'Repressor' is a very masterly performance, not thoroughly understood at the time, and often not understood in later times. It is

thoroughly antagonistic to Puritanism, yet it is by no means thoroughly papal. The writer stands somewhere between an Anglican and a Romanist, but it is difficult to determine precisely where. The main design of the book is to vindicate the clergy and their practices, or 'governances' as they are called, from the attacks of the 'Biblemen,' or Lollards. Pecock deals with six—the use of images, the going on pilgrimage, the holding of landed possessions by the clergy, the various ranks of the hierarchy, the framing of ecclesiastical laws by papal or episcopal authority, and the institution of the religious orders. In dealing with these questions he surprises us by sometimes verging towards Rationalism, and on the other hand maintaining papal supremacy to an extent which would now be called Ultramontane. He admits the fallibility of general councils, maintains that Holy Scripture was not intended to teach us things which can be discovered by the light of natural reason as well, and that doctrine ought to be proved by reason, and not simply by authority. If there should be any seeming discrepancy between Scripture and reason about the moral virtues, Scripture must yield to the judgment of reason. Scripture is to be the sole rule of faith, the apocryphal books are to be rejected as uncanonical. Yet as regards the invocation of saints he is wholly a Romanist; while in his discourse on images he has some remarks which would be utterly distasteful to the Romanists, others which would be equally disapproved by the Anglican. But it must be allowed, after all deductions, that, considering the age in which he lived, an age of ignorance and superstition on the side alike of Reformers and unreformed, the 'Repressor' is a very remarkable work as a specimen both of literary ability, extensive learning, and critical skill. In his reply to the Lollards' extreme view of the sufficiency of Scripture, and

their ever-recurring question, 'Where groundest thou this or that usage in Scripture,' he anticipates with great force the line of Hooker in maintaining that the office of Scripture is not to make known everything, but only such truths and articles of faith as were not discoverable by human reason. Mr. Hallam even goes so far as to assert that this part of Pecock's book 'contains passages well worthy of Hooker, both for weight of matter and dignity of style.'

In his treatise on faith published probably a year or two after the 'Repressor,' he gives expression to views more advanced in the direction of rational reform, more at variance with the pretensions of the church to define and enforce the faith. He even maintains that the clergy shall be condemned at the last day if 'by clear wit they draw not men into consent of true faith, *otherwise than by fire and hangment;* although I will not deny these second means to be lawful, provided the former be well used.'

The middle position taken up by Pecock, adverse to Lollardism, yet not heartily papal, left him almost destitute of friends, and the course of politics completed his ruin. His old patrons, Duke Humphrey and Suffolk, both were gone. The duke of York, the enemy of the Suffolk party, was steadily working his way into power, and busying himself in removing the queen's favourites from office. The bishop of Norwich, his friend, had been deposed. The king himself did not like him; in his eyes Pecock was already a heretic, and in the statutes of King's College, Cambridge, Henry directs that no disciple of *Wicliff or Pecock* should be allowed to remain there.

The close of the year 1457 saw the beginning of his fall. About the end of October, Henry VI. held a council at Westminster. Pecock was present. The long-

suppressed rage against his person and opinions burst forth. None of the temporal lords would proceed to business in his presence; many demanded his expulsion. Accusations against him, partly true, partly false, were flung about through the assembly. 'He had written on profound theological subjects in the English tongue; he had disparaged the authority of the old doctors, and had cried, "Pooh! pooh!" when passages from their books had been produced against him; he had tampered with the Apostles' Creed, and had denied that it was written by the Apostles. He had addressed a letter to Canning, Lord Mayor of London, in which there was a clear intention manifested to stir up a religious if not a political insurrection, and in which he declared that many of the nobility agreed with his detestable opinions;'—and more to the same effect. After much strife of tongues a proposal made by one of the bishops present was accepted, that Pecock should bring such books as he had written within the last three years for examination before Archbishop Bouchier and his assessors, at Lambeth, on November 11. His adversaries were to appear at the same time and place, and to bring their objections in writing.

On the appointed day Pecock duly presented himself with nine of his books, the 'Repressor' and the 'Book of Faith' being among them; many passages were erased and several re-written. The primate handed them over to twenty-four doctors, who were to report their opinion after examination of the contents. The result of their inspection was a report that, in their judgment, Pecock's writings contained many errors and heretical opinions, as they were prepared to prove in their robes before the king in council. Examination after examination of Pecock in person now followed in rapid succession; he was censured or condemned at each on various heads.

At his final examination, after much protracted disputation, the primate rose and addressed his 'dear brother, Master Reginald' in a formal harangue, to the effect that, as he was a blinded heretic, more words would not be wasted upon him; that he had contravened the sayings of the most eminent doctors of the church as to—1, the descent of Christ into hell; 2, the authority of the Catholic Church; 3, as to the power of the councils; 4, as to the interpretation of Scripture. It was necessary to remove a sickly sheep from the fold lest the whole flock should be infected; the primate therefore offered him the alternatives of making a public abjuration of his errors or being delivered, after degradation, to the secular power, 'as food for fire, and fuel for the burning.' 'Choose thou one of these two.' For a few moments poor Pecock stood motionless and silent, and then he replied, 'I am in a strait betwixt two, and hesitate in despair which I shall choose. If I defend my opinions and positions I must be burned to death, if I do not I shall be a byword and reproach. Yet it is better to incur the taunts of the people than to forsake the law of faith, and to depart after death into hell fire and the place of torment. I choose, therefore, to make an abjuration, and intend for the future so to live that no suspicion shall arise against me all the days of my life.' As a preliminary to his formal abjuration, he made then and there, in the primate's presence, a general confession and retraction of all the heretical positions contained in his books. He made his first formal abjuration on December 3, at Lambeth, before the primate and twenty-four doctors of divinity, and on the following Sunday, the second in Advent, his great public abjuration was made at Paul's Cross. Here, arrayed in his episcopal robes, Pecock knelt down at the feet of the

primate, the bishops of London, Rochester, and Durham, in the presence of a large body of clergy, and 20,000 spectators, and made his recantation to the following effect: —

'In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Reynold Pecock, bishop of Chichester, unworthy, of mine own pure and free will, without any man's coercion or dread, confess and acknowledge that I have beforetime, presuming of mine own natural wit, and preferring the judgment of natural reason before the New and Old Testaments, and the authority and determination of our mother Holy Church, holden, feeled, and taught otherwise than the Holy Roman and Universal Church teacheth, preacheth, and observeth; and over this, against the true Catholic Apostolic Faith, I have made, written, taken out and published many and divers perilous and pernicious doctrines, books, works, and writings, containing in them heresies and errors contrary to the faith Catholic, and determination of Holy Church, and especially these errors and heresies following, that is to say:— [The conclusions are in Latin].

'I. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ, after death, descended into hell.

'II. Or in the Holy Ghost.

'III. Or in the Holy Catholic Church.

'IV. Or in the Communion of Saints.

'V. That the Church Universal can err in matters of faith.

'VI. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe that what a general council of the whole church has decreed, approves or determines for the advantage of the faith and the salvation of souls, is to be approved and held by the whole body of Christ's faithful, or in like manner what a general council condemns as contrary to the Catholic faith or good morals, is to be believed or holden by all as condemned.

'VII. [Every one may understand Holy Writ in a literal sense, nor is any one bound, as of necessity to salvation, to adhere to any other sense]. This last conclusion is to be found in Westhamstede only.

'Wherefore I, miserable sinner, which herebefore long time

have walked in darkness, and now, by the mercy and infinite goodness of God, reduced into the right way, and the light of truth, and considering myself grievously to have sinned, and wickedly to have informed and infected the people of God, return and come again to the unity of our Holy Mother Church; and all heresies and errors above rehearsed, and also all other heresies and errors written and contained in my said books, works, and writings herebefore this time, before the most Reverend Father in God, solemnly and openly revoke and renounce; which heresies and errors, and all other spices of heresy I have before this time before the most Reverend Father in God, my Lord of Canterbury, in due and lawful form, judicially abjured, submitting myself, being then and also at this time a very contrite and penitent sinner, to the correction of the Church and of my Lord of Canterbury. And over this exhorting and requiring in the name and virtue of Almighty God unto the salvation of your souls and of mine, that no man give faith or credence to my said pernicious doctrines, heresies, and errors: neither my said books keep, hold, or read in any wise; but that they bring all such books, works, and writings as suspect of heresy (dealing in all godly haste) unto my said Lord of Canterbury, or to his commissaries or deputies, in eschewing of many inconveniences and great perils of souls, the which else might ensue of the contrary. And over this declaration of my conversion and repentance, I here openly assent that my said books, works, and writings, for consideration and cause above rehearsed, be deputed unto the fire, and openly be burnt, into the example and terror of all other.'

And he ratified this assent with his own hands. A fire being lit at the cross, Pecock delivered three folio and eleven quarto volumes, the products of many years of thought and research, to the executioner, and beheld him cast them into the flames. As he gazed at the bonfire he cried, 'My pride and presumption have brought upon me these troubles and reproaches!'

It was indeed an ignominious end for one who had begun his career with such a firm persuasion that error was

to fall like the walls of Jericho before the blast of his learning and logic. But his pride, and his really great ability, were not mated with that ardent disinterested enthusiasm for a cause which can alone overcome the physical fear of a painful death. His terror, indeed, seems to have bewildered his understanding, otherwise he surely might have attempted at least to prove the absurdity of some of the charges made against him, and the unfairness of others. But no such attempt is recorded. The remainder of his story, so far as it is known, can be briefly told. Copies of his recantation were sent by the primate to his suffragans for publication in their several dioceses. There was a burst of orthodox zeal throughout the country. The students at Oxford, headed by the chancellor, went in solemn procession to Carfax, and there burnt every copy of Pecock's works which could be found in the university. Archbishop Bouchier was thanked on all sides for his good deed in putting down the pestilent heretic, and doggrel rhymes, triumphant and satirical, kept up the enthusiasm among the people. Pecock was kept in confinement first at Canterbury, then at Maidstone. While here, he managed to get a statement of his case conveyed to the pope. Pecock must have pleaded his cause skilfully, or have had good interest at Rome. The pope sent bulls of restitution to the primate, commanding the restoration of the imprisoned bishop. The bulls, however, were set aside as 'contrary to the laws and statutes provisors, and derogatory to the king's prerogative and estate royal.' Pecock was informed that the king would grant him a sufficient pension if he would resign, but that if he forced the king to send letters to the pope, his majesty would write 'for the uttermost rigour of the law to be inflicted upon him.' This advice was accepted: at the close of the year 1458 the bishopric

of Chichester was vacant, and was soon afterwards filled by John Arundel, physician to the king and archdeacon of Richmond, to whom the temporalities were restored, March 26, 1459.

The abbey of Thorney in Cambridgeshire was selected to be the abode of Pecock, and a very dreary abode it must have been. Forty pounds were assigned to the abbey for his board and lodging; and the abbot was instructed by the primate to provide Pecock with 'a secret closed chamber, having a chimney and convenience, within the abbey, where he may have sight to some altar to hear mass; and that he pass not the said chamber. To have but one person that is sad and well-disposed to make his bed, and to make him fire as it shall need. That he have no books to look on, but only a portuous, a Mass-book, a psalter, a legend, and a Bible. That he have nothing to write with; no stuff to write upon. That he have competent fuel according to his age and his necessity shall require. That he be served daily of meat and drink as a brother of the abbey is served when he is excused from the freytour (*i.e.*, from dining in hall), and somewhat better after [the first quarter] as his disposition and reasonable appetite shall desire, conveniently after the good discretion of the said abbot.' In another copy of these instructions it is ordered 'that no one else (except his bed-maker) shall speak to him without leave and in the presence of the abbot, unless the king or archbishop send to the abbey any man with writing specially on that behalf.'

In this forlorn condition there is every reason to believe that poor Pecock spent the remainder of his days, though there is no positive record of the time and place of his death, and no monument to his memory either at Thorney or anywhere else. Fabyan says that Pecock was 'kept in mewe ever while he lyved after,' and there is nothing to make us doubt

the trustworthiness of this statement. He is said to have been a man of stately carriage and handsome countenance, though somewhat disfigured by a cutaneous disorder hereditary in his family. His register has not been preserved at Chichester, and the only notice of him in the cathedral archives consists of a few words placed against his name in the list of bishops, recording his resignation.[1] He can be judged only by such of his writings as remain, and by narratives written for the most part by violent partisans, who either heap invective upon him as a heretic or lavish praise upon him as a reformer—both equally undeserved. He was a learned and able, perhaps the most learned prelate of his time, and his learning and ability enabled him to detect and expose some of the manifold abuses and follies, in respect to doctrine and practice, which prevailed in the Church at that time. On the other hand, his inordinate vanity was not only a fatal obstacle to his influence, but allured him to support some of the worst and most unjustifiable scandals of the day which his better judgment must have condemned; and, finally, he had not that courage born of high moral principle and ardent convictions which overmasters physical fear and could nerve him to die heroically for the positions, true or false, sensible or paradoxical, which he avowed. Eminent and remarkable he was in a high degree; but great is an epithet which we must be allowed to reserve for men of a loftier standard, both moral and intellectual.

The zeal or spite of his orthodox enemies successfully destroyed most of his very numerous works; but a few copies remain of some of the most important.

1. *The Donet*, MS. (Bodleian).

[1] 'Reginaldus Pecokke sacræ theologiæ professor qui de crimine hæreseos accusatus et convictus episcopatum resignavit.' Lib. E. p. 109.

2. *The Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy*, printed for the Master of the Rolls' Series in 1860, and ably edited by Rev. Churchill Babington, B.D., from a MS. in Cambridge University Library.

3. *The Book of Faith*, MS., Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

4. *The Follower to the Donet*, MS., in British Museum.

5. *The Book or Rule of Christian Religion* (in 3 parts) MS., in Library of Sir Thomas Phillips, of Middlehill, Broadway.

6. *The Poor Men's Mirror*, MS., in Archbishop Tenison's Library.

Within the period with which the present chapter has been concerned may be placed the erection of the spire and the detached Bell Tower; possibly, also, the present windows of the cloisters, which made up the whole group of buildings as we now see it. The Ladye chapel of Bishop Gilbert and the great window put in the south transept by Bishop Langton are the last of those few parts of the cathedral to which a date can be fixed on documentary evidence. Tradition has connected the name of Bishop Ralph Neville with the spire, but the style of the work, especially the ornamental projections like porches in the centre of each face, manifestly prove it to belong to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. It was a fatal addition to the central tower, already too heavy for the Norman piers supporting it, which were composed of rubble with a casing only of ashlar. How, at last, in our day they fell beneath their load, bringing down tower and spire in one appalling crash, is still fresh in the memory of all who saw or heard of the catastrophe. Within less than seven years tower and spire again gladdened the eyes of the citizens of Chichester; the

homeward-bound sailor and the shepherd on the Downs once more beheld the old familiar landmark.[1] The new work is a model of solidity and strength; and though some may question the wisdom, from an artistic point of view, of raising the tower some six feet higher than its predecessor, all will agree in admiring the energy and zeal for the house of God which prompted and so successfully completed the work of restoration.

The erection of the Bell Tower has been sometimes attributed to Bishop Langton; but here again the indisputable evidence of style contradicts the assertion, and points to a date at least half a century later.

Far more trustworthy is the tradition mentioned by Camden, who says: 'That great tower, which stands near the west side of the church, was built by R. Ryman, as is reported, upon his being prohibited the building of a castle at Appledram, hard by, where he lived, with those very stones which he had provided for the castle.'[2]

In corroboration of this tradition there are the facts—first, that the family of Ryman held the manor of Appledram under the abbey of Reading, to which the manor belonged, in the fifteenth century; secondly, that attached to the manor house at Appledram there is an unfinished tower, constructed of the same stone as the bell tower, and resembling it in its square form and massive proportions; thirdly, that even in the last century the Bell Tower was commonly called Ryman's tower.

Perhaps the most likely explanation of the statement that Ryman built the tower is, that it was built of the materials which he had got together for fortifying his

[1] The spire fell on Thursday, February 21, 1861. The cathedral was reopened November 14, 1867.

[2] *Britannia*, i. 198. On the Ryman family and their connexion with Appledram and Chichester, see a good paper by the Rev. F. H. Arnold in the *Sussex Archæological*, 1866, vol. xviii.

house at Appledram, and that when he failed to obtain the royal licence to 'crenellate,' they were bought of him, possibly as a cheap bargain, by the bishop and chapter to build them a Bell Tower.

The tower is square, each side measuring 56 feet, with heavy buttresses at the angles, and two late perpendicular doors, one on the south, the other on the west side. A low octagon crowns the top, and is linked to turrets at the four corners. The height of the whole is 120 feet. The tower has a fine effect in the distant views of the cathedral, almost supplying the place of the ruined north-western tower, and seeming as if it was connected with the west front, though really some 60 feet north of it. It is interesting also and valuable as the last of a once rather numerous race of detached Bell Towers belonging to our cathedrals, those of Canterbury, Salisbury, and Worcester having been swept away.

Now that the history of the cathedral fabric has been traced to its completion, it may be well to give a table of the dimensions :—

	Feet.	In.
Total length, including west porch and Ladye chapel	411	3
Length of nave	172	0
Height of nave in centre	62	3
Total width of nave	90	0
Width of choir with side aisles . . .	59	3
Width of choir without aisles . . .	26	0
Height of choir	65	0
Height of tower and spire	277	0

A comparison of these measurements with the dimensions of other Cathedrals will prove that Chichester Cathedral is by no means, as is so commonly said, one of the smallest in the kingdom.

CHAPTER VI.

BISHOP ARUNDEL: HIS SHRINE OR ORATORY IN THE CATHEDRAL—BISHOP STOREY: EXTRACTS FROM HIS REGISTER: HE BUILDS THE MARKET CROSS AND FOUNDS THE PREBENDAL SCHOOL—BISHOP SHERBURNE: HIS WEALTH AND MUNIFICENCE: INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT THE CELEBRATION OF HIS ANNIVERSARY—FOUNDATION OF FOUR PREBENDS AND FOUR LAY CLERKSHIPS—BENEFACTIONS TO THE PRIEST-VICARS, AND THE GUILD OF ST. GEORGE—HIS TOWER AT CAKEHAM—FOUNDATION OF GRAMMAR SCHOOL AT ROLLESTON—SHERBURNE'S RESIGNATION AND DEATH.

Bishops.	Accession, A.D.	Contemporary sovereigns.
John Arundel	1459	Henry VI. Edward IV.
Edward Storey	1478	Edward IV. Richard III. Henry VII.
Richard Fitz James	1503	Henry VII.
Robert Sherburne	1508	Henry VII. Henry VIII.

John Arundel, 1458–1478.—Of the successor of the unfortunate Reginald Pecock there is little to record beyond the list of his preferments, which were considerable. He is said to have been a native of Llanherne in Cornwall; he was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, and became fellow in 1426. He was skilled in medicine, and held the double office of chaplain and physician to Henry VI. Cathedral stalls were accumulated upon him: one in Wells, in Lichfield, in Lincoln, in Hereford, in York, and in St. Paul's. In 1457 he was made archdeacon of Richmond, and in the following year was promoted to

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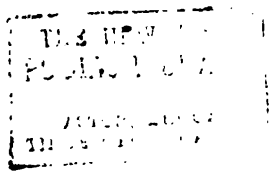


our see.[1] He was probably a quiet and submissive court favourite, as strong a contrast to the restless Pecock as it was possible to find. His register has been lost, and I have not discovered any record of him worth noticing among the cathedral documents; but there is no reason to doubt the tradition which assigns to him the erection of the shrine or oratory which, before the fall of the spire, stood between the easternmost piers of the nave, and acted as screen, or rather barrier, between it and the choir, as well as a support for the organ. It was a vaulted stone passage, bounded to the west by an open arcade of two wide arches, with a narrow one between, and to the east by a wall which had a central arch opening to the choir, and two small doors on either side opening to staircases which led to the organ-loft. The passage was vaulted in three unequal compartments, with a rich lierne vault of the fifteenth century. When the restoration of the choir was begun in 1860, in accordance with the wishes of Dean Chandler, who had bequeathed £2,000 for the purpose, this Arundel shrine or oratory was removed, and to this we are indebted, not, as has been often and erroneously said, for the fall of the tower, but for the disclosure of the rotten condition of the tower piers. The screen was a slight structure, its back wall being little more than a foot thick, and it was applied merely to the ends of the piers without bonding, so that it could not have given the smallest support to them; in fact, it merely rested against them. The fall sooner or later was inevitable: the mercy is that it occurred when people were prepared for it, and by the removal of the Arundel screen they were prepared.[2]

[1] Newcourt's *Repert.* i. 174; Wood's *Athen.* ii. 693.

[2] See Professor Willis's *Lecture* (Introduction, p. 15). The Arundel screen has not been replaced, and what to do with the *disjecta membra* thereof is a perplexity, for a satisfactory solution of which the chapter would be thankful.

Bishop Arundel occupied the see for twenty years, those fearful years of bloodshed through which the House of York waded its way to the throne.

We cannot think of the battles of Northampton, of Wakefield, of St. Alban's, of Towton, of Barnet and Tewkesbury, without a thrill of horror; but what men thought of these fearful convulsions of the kingdom in a quiet corner like Chichester we can only guess. Our documents are silent during this period, until we come to Bishop Arundel's successor, Edward Storey, 1478–1503, whose register has been preserved, and is an interesting fund of information concerning the bishop and his work, and in some degree also concerning the state of the country.

Storey had been fellow of Pembroke Hall, master of Michael House, and chancellor of Cambridge, 1471–73. In 1468 he was made bishop of Carlisle, and occupied that see until his translation to Chichester ten years afterwards. He was one of the commissioners to treat with the Scotch about the marriage of the Princess Cicely. The memorandum in his register of his entrance into Chichester on the day of his enthronization is a curious illustration of the splendour with which bishops were surrounded in those days, and the taste of the age for pageantry and display.

On Saturday he slept at Mydhyrste, attended mass and preached in the chapel on Sunday. At a very early hour (*summo mane*) on Monday, June 27, the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, he took his way on horseback with his retinue towards Chichester. On the crest of the hill, commonly called Bishoppeston[1] Hill (*super cacumine montis vulgariter*

[1] But where is Bishoppeston Hill? There is no hill between Chichester and Midhurst now called by that name, and the present high road does not cross the Downs anywhere near Chichester. My friend Captain Valintine, of Goodwood, has, however, supplied me with some information which I

nuncupati Bishoppeston), he was met by the prior of Lewes, Lord Dacres, Lord John Ffynes, and several more noblemen and knights with their attendants. Outside the north gate, 'near the grove of the Bruyll,' the company was joined by Lord Manners, Lord Delawarr, Sir Henry Ross, and others, who conducted the bishop into the city with much reverence and joy. Near the east end of the cathedral he was met by the abbot of Battle, with mitre and staff; the dean, John Waynfleete; the precentor, John Wyne; the archdeacon of Lewes, John Plemytt; ten canons, and the choir decently arrayed in silken copes. Here he was censed, kissed the cross, and took an oath to observe the statutes, and to preserve, or (if alienated) to recover, the property of the church. Then he was conducted by the cathedral body round the south side of the cathedral to the west door, and so entered the church, preceded by the choir chanting psalms. When they reached the high altar, the bishop knelt there a little space while he was censed by the dean and canons, after which he made the customary offering of a gold noble. Then he gave the dean and canons the kiss of peace, and blessed the people, after which he was enthroned in the usual manner, the choir singing the *Te Deum*. From his throne he proceeded to the chapter-house, and thence to the pulpit, from which he preached on the text 'I will build up my church.' After this he celebrated mass

think quite settles this question. He tells me that up to the beginning of this century the north road *did* cross the high ridge of the Downs just over the village of Lavant, about three miles from Chichester; and, indeed, its course marked by the old milestones may still be easily traced. Further, Captain Valintine has heard his father, an old resident in Sussex, say that it was an ancient custom when a bishop came by that road to be enthroned at Chichester for the mayor and corporation to meet him on the hill now called 'Rook's Hill;' and an old inhabitant of Chichester, not long dead, informed Captain Valintine that Bishop Ashburnham was so met in 1754. I conclude, therefore, that Bishoppeston Hill is identical with 'Rook's Hill.'

(*in pontificalibus*), assisted by the abbot of Battle and many more. After the conclusion of the ceremonies in church, he went to his palace, where 1,500 people were sumptuously entertained.

A visitation of the cathedral and city was held soon after his enthronization. In his letter of announcement to the dean and chapter he calls the church in Chichester his *celebris sponsa*.

The number of residentiaries was remarkably small; the only members of chapter who met the bishop being the dean, Waynfleete, Master Precentor Wyne, the archdeacon of Lewes, and the prebendaries of Hirst and Sydlesham. Among the absentees, besides the chancellor, treasurer, and twenty-four prebendaries, are mentioned the subdean, two king's chaplains, and seventeen vicars.

The complaint made to the bishop at this visitation and the information elicited by his inquiries reveal some of the besetting sins of cathedral bodies in those days. The vicars were so numerous that they could not be maintained out of the revenues, owing to the greater cost of living 'in these modern days' (*modernis temporibus*). Being irregularly and scantily paid, the vicars became slack and negligent in the discharge of their functions. There were often not more than three or four present at the chief services. Instead of being in church at the proper time, they were to be seen wandering about the streets. They did not rise for matins in the night hours, for the bread due to them for that office was not duly paid. The prebendary of Wittering neglected to deliver the lectures on condition of which he held his prebend. The dean was in the habit of taking two or three of the vicars-choral with him as attendants when he went out riding. He had sold divers implements and stock on several of the manors without consent of chapter;

he did not hold chapters at the appointed seasons, and was negligent of the customs of the church. Laxity, indeed, as might be expected under a lax head, seems to have run through all departments; the sacristans did not ring the bells properly, and sometimes left the doors of the cathedral open all night.

The bishop visited every parish and every monastic or collegiate establishment in his diocese either in person or by his commissary. Of the visitations of the parishes there is only a list, but of the visitations of monasteries there is in each case a fairly minute record. The only conclusion to be drawn from these records is that, with a few exceptions, the monastic houses were, materially, financially, and morally, fast falling to decay. A few extracts will suffice;[1] the same story, with slight variations, is repeated almost everywhere.

Boxgrave is one of the honourable exceptions, which returned a clean bill in every respect.

At Easebourne two of the nuns had gone astray; the prioress handsomely entertained her relations and friends twice or thrice a week, while the sisters had to put up with coarse fare. The prioress soon afterwards resigned.

At Haryngham there were reports of gross immoralities; the prior had not gone over the accounts of the house with the brethren for three years, consequently they did not know whether it was in debt or not, but they did know that the buildings were ruinous and that the services were not duly performed at the appointed hours, and they confessed that they frequented taverns.

At Mychelham, where there was a prior and six canons, no reckoning had been made for twenty years. Lord Dacre paid five marks annually to the house, and the brother of the prior four (probably for the right of having

[1] Fol. 20–30.

a lodging there for themselves or their friends). The cellarer had received these sums for the past twelve years, and several other persons paid so much a year to have their meals from or at the priory. The jewels of the house had been sold to meet the expenses of a lawsuit; the dormitory, two mills, and other buildings were dilapidated. The brethren frequented taverns; visitors went in and out of the house without leave; meals were taken indifferently in the hall, the refectory, or the private room of the prior; talking often went on in church during the chanting of the office; there was no sub-prior or sacristan, for want of whom the vestments and ornaments were in a miserable condition. Finally, Alice Forde, a woman of suspicious character, had food and clothing from the priory.

The injunctions of the bishop in the case of this house are recorded.

The prior, on pain of deposition, was commanded to forbid Alice Forde having access to the house, and to see that the said Alice did not live within four miles of the place.

The prior and canons were admonished not to go outside the precincts of the priory except on business, under pain of confinement within the walls. On the Friday next after the visitation all were to fast on bread and water as a penance, and one was to be confined to church, cloister, refectory, and dormitory, until the arrival of a sub-prior, who was to be sent by the bishop.

At Calcetum priory (Chalk), near Arundel, a great number of corrodies[1] were let from sums ranging from thirteen to thirty-three shillings.

The master of the college at Arundel, which contained

[1] A corrody was the right of a founder or benefactor to get board and lodging in the house, and sometimes education for his sons. The irregularity was in letting them indiscriminately for money.

eight priests and four choristers, confessed that he was not so strict as he was bound by oath to be in seeing that the statutes were observed; the inmates did not rise for matins till seven in winter and five in summer; inns were frequented, corrodies were let, potations were often carried on past the proper hours, namely, five in winter evenings and seven in summer; the jewels were in pawn. One of the inmates, when examined, said he could not tell whether the statutes were observed or not, as he had never read them; he knew that he himself was careless in attending the services, but the sacristan often did not ring the bell at the appointed hours, being engaged in field labour.

It is not surprising, when such a condition of things prevailed in the monasteries, that the resignations of the heads were numerous at this time, to escape partly from the enforcement of discipline by episcopal interference, partly from the pecuniary difficulties in which they had entangled their houses.

The resignation of the prior of Mychelham may be taken as a specimen:[1]

'I, Edward Marley, Presbyter, Canon of the Order of St. Augustine, Prior of the Priory of the Monastery of Holy Trinity at Mychelham, in the diocese of Chichester: Whereas, being worn out with old age and bodily infirmity, I am not able longer to maintain the rule and burden of the prior's office; wishing, therefore, and seeking from these and *other causes warning me in this matter* [probably the evil proceedings mentioned above] to be relieved from the burden, care, rule, dignity, and administration of spiritual and temporal matters of the said priory, I resign the said priory, and renounce right, title, and possession thereof, in the fullest mode and form in which I am able.'

With a translation of the form of profession made by

[1] Fol. 81.

a nun on her admission to the priory of Ruspar (near Horsham) I shall close my notices of the monastic houses during this episcopate.

'I, Elizabeth Lewknor, Sister of the House or Priory of Ruspar, make my profession, and promise my obedience to Almighty God, the blessed Mary Magdalene, protectress of the said house, to St. Benedict, and to the Reverend Father in Christ, and divine master Edward, Dei gratiâ, Bishop of Chichester, and also to the Lady Constance, Prioress of the said House, and her successors, to live in chastity and without reproach.'

There are some curious documents in this register relating to the siege of Rhodes by the Turks, who were, just then, the terror of Eastern Europe, and whose fleets scoured the Mediterranean. The first is a copy of a letter from the knights of St. John in Rhodes to the Pope Sixtus IV., forwarded by him to King Edward IV., in which they describe the present distress of the island. They were besieged by land and sea. On land a force of about 70,000 invested the city, firing upon it from machines of divers kinds; and a fleet of 160 vessels sailed round about the island, but could not block up the entrance into the port, because of the strong westerly winds which blew into it, especially during summer and winter, and the large and strong towers by which the entrance was flanked, and from which great stones could be hurled down upon vessels attempting to come in. The letter is dated May 28th, 1480.[1] This appeal was not disregarded by the king. The next document on the subject is a 'Lettre missive from Thomas, Bishop of London, to Edward, Bishop of Chichester, conteining one to T. Archbishop of Canterbury':—

[1] Fol. 52.

'By the King.

'Moost Reverend Fadre in God, our ryghth trusty and ryghth entirely belovyd cousin, we grete you hertily well, and where as we understond that the Rhodys, one of the great forteresse for the Xten religion ys now beseyged by the Turke and infidels to the nere and toward destruction of the keys' (sc Rome). 'of the londe of Christen feyth, onlesse that spedy relyef be had to the said Rhodys. In this behalve, we gretely desyring, as becomyth a Xten prince, the rescu of the said Rhodys, woll arrai, maune, vittayle in possible haste for our part a shyp of 800 c. portage called the "Margaret Hawarde," and the same shall mayntaigne at our p'pre costz for an whole year to help to rescu the siegge above seid, and to warre agenyst the seid Turke. And over this wee have graunted oure shypp called "Caryan" unto our ryghth trustie and welbeloved the Lord of Seyncte Johannys, and to hys brethryn, which hath promised as with all diligence they woll vit tayle and arraie her for a yere to accompany the seid "Margaret Hawarde." We, therefore, remembering well that the matter toucheth the weal of Chrystys chyrche, whereof, within our realme of Englonde, ye be hed and governour, desyre and pray yow that with all haste to yow possible ye will take such weyes with the Bishoppys of youre province, and with other abbots, religious men and secular priestes, as on your costz, some other shyppes armed, vitaylled, and apparellyd, may hold company to the seid shyppes for thys most meritorious and blessed entent. And that yt shall plese yow to do herein we pray yow eftsoons that we may have word from yow in wryghting, as our trust is in yow. Geven under our sygnet, at our castle of Wyndsor, the 17th day of August, 1480.'

Then follows the copy of a letter from the primate, directing his suffragans to hold convocations of the clergy within each archdeaconry, for the purpose of instructing them as to the state of the city and church of Rhodes, and the peril of the church at large, through the advance of the Turks, and exhorting them to promote as far as possible the good and pious work of rendering assistance

to the island, more especially as larger indulgences were offered by the pope than any of his predecessors had been wont to offer. The promises of the several heads of religious houses were to be taken down by notaries, and discreet and faithful men were to be appointed to collect their offerings, which were to be delivered at St. Paul's, London, by the ensuing Christmas.

The pope was earnest in his solicitations and liberal in his offers, because, in fact, he trembled for the safety of Rome itself. Otranto had been taken; Rhodes was hard pressed. It was a case of *proximus ardet Ucalegon*, and no time was to be lost.

The death of Mahomet, however, the 'Conqueror,' in May 1481, was followed by a contest between his sons, which checked the Turkish career of conquest. The garrison was withdrawn from Otranto, and the siege of Rhodes abandoned. Probably before the promised succours were despatched England was keeping the festival, with which western Christendom celebrated the discomfiture of her formidable enemy.

When Edward IV. died, April 9, 1483, his body, after it had been 'cered,' was 'brought into the chapell at Westminster, where were songon three solempne masses, the first of Our Ladye, the 2de of the Trenitie, the thrid of requiem: the which was songon by the Bishop of Chechestre.'[1] He also walked in the funeral procession.

The greater part of Bishop Storey's episcopate falls within the reign of Henry VII., and his register affords some illustrations of the avaricious and parsimonious character of that king. Henry VII. was eminently skilful in extracting money from his subjects on various pretexts—a war with France, or a war with

[1] Letters, &c. of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII., vol. i. p. 4.

Scotland, which were commonly evaded, and the money was quietly added to the king's private hoards. There are, consequently, records in Bishop Storey's register of numerous subsidies voted by Convocation, always, of course, ostensibly for the public necessities. One example will suffice.

In a Convocation held in 1487, a subsidy was granted of 6*s.* 8*d.* from all seculars and regulars, whose stipends amounted to 8 marcs, or consisted of eatables and drinkables with 4 marcs. Those whose stipend amounted to 10 marcs were to pay 13*s.* 4*d.*, and so on in an ascending scale. Persons exempted from the tax were vicars-choral, and chaplains of cathedral and collegiate churches, if constantly serving; clergymen in prison for crime, poor chaplains studying at Oxford and Cambridge, men who were disabled from officiating by ill-health, or who supported a father or mother at their own expense. Chaplains who were entitled to corrodies or pensions in religious houses were to pay according to the same scale.

A doctor of laws and the dean of the Chapel Royal were appointed collectors for the diocese of Chichester. They were empowered to coerce restive taxpayers by ecclesiastical censures and sequestration of goods. The subsidy, when collected, was to be paid in at St. Paul's on the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr.

But the most curious document relating to this subject in the register of Bishop Storey is the copy of a letter in the king's own name, addressed to the bishop in 1497, chiding him for slackness in collecting the second half of a subsidy[1]:—

[1] Fol. 145.

'To the Right Reverend Ffadre in God, our right trusty, and well-beloved, the Bishoppe of Chichester.

'By the King.

'Right reverend ffader in God, right trusty, and well-beloved, we grete you well. And whereas, by the clergie of the province of Canterbury, in the Convocation within the cathedrall church of St. Paule, in our citie of London, begonne the xxiii day of January, and ended the xith day of Marche then next following, a certain subsidie of £40,000 sterlinge was granted unto us, the first moyte thereof extended to the some of £20,000, due unto us the 1st day of May then next following, and payable before the 1st day of Juyn then next ensuing, and the other moyte extended to the some of £20,000, due unto us the 1st day of November last passed, and payable the xxth day of the same Nov^{br}, as yn the same grante ynto our Exchequer returned more largely yt appereth, upon the which grante soo made unto us we charged you under our writt directed unto you, that ye should have deputed such collectors from whom ye wolde answher unto us, to have levyed and gathered the latter moyte of the forseyd subsidie, and to have certefyed the Tresorer & Barons of our Exchequer before the xxth day of October last passed of the names of the seyd collectors, which ye have not yet doon to our grete mervayl; and therefore we wol and command you that with all diligens and without delaye ye certefye into our seyd Exchequer the names of thoos collectors that ye have or shall depute for the levying of that part of the seyd subsidie that should have been payde in Nov^{br} last passed, to the intent that such moneye as we have borrowed of our subjects for makyng of warre against our ancient enemyes the Scotts may be thereof unto our seyd subjects entirely and sone repayd; and though the seyde latter payment of the seyde clergie extend to the some of £20,000, yit for the more ease of our subjects, considering the grete charges they have borne thys yeer last passed, we have and be contented to remit unto the seyde clergie the moyte of the seyd £20,000, so that the other moyte, to the some of £10,000, which is as we understand to the value of oon hole disme, be soon levyed & payde into our

seyde Exchequer, oonly for contentation of our seyde dettes. And whereas the seyd £10,000 from the clergie, and a xv^th^, that amounteth to the some of £30,000, graunted unto us by the temporalitie of thys our land, wol not suffice by £18,000 to repaye our seyde dettes, considering that they amount to the some of £58,000, yit our mynde & plesur ys that the seyde clergie paying the extent of a disme, and the commonaltie of thys our land paying to the extent of a xv^th^, for the seyde repayment of our dette, that they be clerely discharged of the seyde seconde payment of the subsidie, and of the ayde: soo and under such condicion that the fyrst payment thereof be fully contented, as reason ys.

'Geben under our signet, at our palays of Westm., the xiii^th^ day of December, 1497.'

In obedience to this reprimand, the bishop certifies to the barons of Exchequer that he has appointed the priory of Tortington to collect for the archdeaconry of Chichester, and the abbey of Battle for the archdeaconry of Lewes. Each house was to have 8*d.* in every pound collected.

Under the year 1498[1] is the copy of a bull of the infamous Pope Alexander VI., pronouncing the greater excommunication on all who should question the validity of Henry's right to the throne, or raise any sedition or party to dispute it. The excommunication was not to be removed by any but papal authority, unless the person was in *articulo mortis*. The contents of the bull were to be posted up in all parish churches in the several dioceses, in public documents, to receive which the bishops were to repair in person, or by deputy, to St. Paul's on a certain day. The insurrection of the impostor Perkin Warbeck had been by this time suppressed, but Henry was always painfully conscious of the ambiguity of his

[1] Fol. 147.

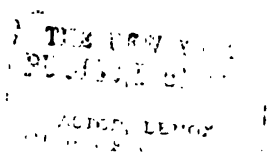
title to the throne, and his cautious and timid nature made him anxious to secure it by every means in his power. A list of the religious houses in the diocese of Chichester where the instruments were to be published is interesting, being probably an exhaustive one for the county of Sussex at this date:—

In the Archdeaconry of Chichester.	In the Archdeaconry of Lewes.
Priory of Boxgrave.	Abbey of Battle.
Abbey of Dureford.	Priory of Lewes.
Priory of Tortington.	Abbey of Robertsbridge.
Priory of Eseborne.	Abbey of Beyham.
Priory of Ruspar.	Priory of Mychelham.
Priory of Heryngham.	Priory of Hastings.
Priory of Shulbrede.	Priory of Sele.
Collegiate Church of Arundel.	

The names of eighty-four parish churches follow, in which the instruments were to be published in like manner.

To Bishop Storey the city of Chichester is indebted for the great and beautiful market cross which stands at the junction of the four main streets. It cannot be denied that in many ways, in mediæval times, the secular business of every-day life was brought into closer connexion with religion, religious duties, and religious sentiments than it is at the present day. Some religious ceremony accompanied and hallowed almost every undertaking, great or small, either of amusement or work; fairs were held hard by the church; men bought and sold beneath the shadow of the cross.

The idea of this sanctification of the secular by the sacred was beautiful and true, though the realization of it was, of course, often defective; but as long as the crosses remained by the wayside, or in the centre of the



village and the town, they testified, at least, to every wayfarer, every peasant, every trader, the great duty of doing his work as in the sight of God. Of the market cross given by Bishop Storey, only the lower fabric, which the actual cross surmounted, now remains. It is an octagon, supported by a central column, and presenting outwards alternate arches and buttresses, with well-carved finials. Over the centre of each arch is a niche, which once contained figures of the founder and other bishops, and of St. George, the patron saint of the city guild. These have long since disappeared, as well as the cross itself which crowned the centre of the whole. Probably they were torn down by the soldiers of the Parliamentary army, which besieged and took the city in 1643. At the Restoration, a bronze bust of Charles I. was placed in the niche once occupied by the image of Bishop Storey, and a clock was attached below it in 1724, the gift of Dame Elizabeth Farrington, to be, as the inscription records it, 'an hourly memento of her good will to this city.'

The indenture between the bishop and the mayor for the erection of the cross is as follows:—

'1. This indenture, made 28th of Decembre, in the 16th year of the reign of King Henry the 7th, between the Reverend Fadyr in God, Edward, Bishop of Chichester, on the one p'te, and Thomas Wolgar, Mayor of the sayde cite, of the other p'te, witnesseth, etc. That, whereas the sayde Reverend Fadyr in God hath made as well in the love of God as to the worschyp of the sayd city, and in especiall to the soocure and comforte of the poore people there, a crosse sett and founded in the middes of the said cite, upon the ground of the said mayor and burgesses, for the which the said byshop hath gevyn £10 of lawful money of England for dischargyng of them, the which to be bounden by obligation to the Dean & Chapter, for the purcheysing of certain lands to the yerely value of 13*sh.* & 4*d.*

And such they granten that neither they nor theyre successors shall from henceforth claim, ne vexe, int'rupt, nor trouble any of the pore people that shall hereafter stand or sell any chaffre within the said crosse; and over that, granten that they shall not henceforth make nor suffre no houses, bothes, shoppes, nor stalls to be builded or sett within nor upon the said crosse, nor nigh adjoining to the same, to the hurt or ympairing the said crosse, ne to the lett or disturbance of the pore people to sell theyr chaffre there: ne take no toll nor other dutie of noo persone that shall stand or sell any chaffre within the said crosse. In witnesse whereof, the parties above said to these indentures have interchangeably put theyr seals, in the day & year above said.

'2. Sciant præsentes et futuri quod nos Rob. Pychard Decanus Eccles. Cicest. et Cap. confirmavimus venerab. Patri Edwardo Cicestr. Episcopo et successoribus suis omnes terras nostras super quas dictus venerab. Pater modo constituit unam crucem in medio civitatis ejusdem. Dat. in Dom. Capitulari nostrâ 21 Aprilis ann. R. Hen. 7mi. 17mo.

'3. Sciant præsentes et futuri quod Rogerus Lenknor Joh'es Emley et T. Mory in complementum voluntatis ven. Pat. Edvardi Cicestr. Episc. tradiderunt Rob. Pychard Decano Eccl. Cicestr'. et ejusdem eccles. capitul. in recompensationem terræ ubi dictus pater constituit unam crucem in medio civitatis Cicestr.' terras et tenementa vocata North Kingeham in par. de Stedham. Dat. 21 Aprilis 17mo. Hen. 17mi.'

The other good work of Bishop Storey for the benefit of the city and diocese was the foundation of the free school, commonly called the prebendal, because to the head-mastership he annexed the prebend of Highley, together with the small tithes of Bishopstone, and a portion of the impropriation; two portions of Ferring, Burpham and Pyperring, and tithes in Sydlesham. It was intended to be a nursery of learned clerks, being founded *ob ignorantiam sacerdotum et raritatem ministrorum dioceseos nostræ*.—[Preamble of statute.]

Master and scholars were to attend mass in St. George's chapel before 5 A.M. in summer, and at 6 A.M. in winter.[1]

1503–1506.—The episcopate of Richard FitzJames was short and uneventful, and his register is only a bare record of official acts. He had been fellow, and afterwards warden, of Merton College, Oxford, where he rebuilt the warden's house.[2] He became chaplain to Edward IV. and almoner to Henry VII., and, while holding this office, was made bishop of Rochester, 1497. He was translated to Chichester by provision of Pope Julius II., and, three years afterwards, was raised to the higher dignity of bishop of London. His episcopate there is chiefly remarkable for the vehemence with which he prosecuted Lollards, and endeavoured to prosecute Dean Colet, for heresy. He was a good but narrow-minded man; he was learned, but his learning was of the old school, and he could not understand or tolerate men of wide views and erudition like Colet and Erasmus, the forerunners of the Reformation. He was fond of building; he completed the spire of St. Mary's, Oxford, and largely repaired the cathedral of St. Paul, but there is no record of any architectural work of his at Chichester.

1508–1536.—*Robert Sherburne.*—The long episcopate of Bishop Sherburne brings us down to the crisis of the Reformation. He is a good type of the better sort of prelate still to be found in an age when the Church of England, with the increase of pomp, wealth, and a secular kind of grandeur, was losing more and more of that power over men's hearts and minds which comes of spiritual zeal, superior ability and learning. Bishop

[1] John Selden was educated here.

[2] Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.*

Sherburne amassed many preferments and great wealth, but he used them well. He may have thought much—too much—of outward dignity and state, but the records which testify this testify also to his inward piety; and the munificence with which he gave equalled the magnificence with which he lived.

His learning was that of a well-educated Wykhamist, who was liberally disposed towards all men of genius and culture, like Erasmus and Colet, although he did not throw himself into the cause of which they were the leading spirits.

Nearly all that can be learned about Bishop Sherburne's history may be extracted from a letter addressed to his successors in the see of Chichester, in which, besides recounting his benefactions to the see, he draws the outlines of his earlier career.[1] He was born at Rolleston, in Staffordshire, to which place, as will be presently related, he left a substantial memorial of his attachment in the foundation of a free school. Of his parentage I have not discovered any notice. He became a scholar of Winchester, and in 1472 a fellow of New College, Oxford, when he was twenty years old. He was made registrar of the University, secretary and vicar-general to the primate, Cardinal Morton, an office which he discharged for seven years. Through the interest, doubtless, of the primate, he was commended to the notice of Henry VII., who sent him three times on business to Rome, where he built a chapel for the English hospital of St. Thomas, '*cum arcubus testudinariis et ambulatorio retrorsus.*' The piece of work in which he appears in the least pleasing light is as a fellow-commissioner with the Lord Darcy, Amias Paulet, Knight and others, for the 'fining of all as were of any substance and could be convicted or suspected of partaking

[1] Prefixed to his book of *Donations*.

in the aid or comfort of Perkin Warbeck or of the insurgents, either in the field or in their flight.' The commissioners seem to have executed their task with rigour, Anyone suspected of having given a morsel of bread even to the famished fugitives was heavily fined; and, in the words of Bacon, 'they proceeded with such strictness and severity as did much obscure the king's mercy in sparing of blood, with the bleeding of so much treasure.' How far Robert Sherburne was personally responsible for these proceedings we cannot tell. Probably none of the commissioners exceeded their instructions; but it may be that some compunction for these and other services performed in the cause of a hard and extortionate master prompted the liberality which distinguished his later life, and suggested the text which he chose for his tomb, 'Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord.' Meanwhile, preferments were heaped upon him with a lavish hand. He was twice governor of the castle of Richmond, once of Porchester. He was made prebendary, treasurer, and finally chancellor of Hereford, prebendary of Exeter, Sarum, and Wells, archdeacon of Taunton, 1496, prebendary of Lichfield, archdeacon of Buckingham, 1495, of Huntingdon, 1496, twice prebendary of Lincoln, prebendary of St. Paul's, and in 1499 dean of St. Paul's, where he expended £550 on the cathedral. He was also master of the hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, prebendary of Likeford in that cathedral, and rector of Chilsey and Alresford. He also held two prebendal stalls in Chichester cathedral. In 1505 he was made bishop of St. David's, whence he was translated by provision of Pope Julius II. to Chichester in 1508. He closes the record of his prosperous career by saying that he has not written it out of arrogance or self-conceit, but to prove how men may be animated to severe and difficult tasks by learning and

industry, not being unmindful of what is written of merchants—

> 'Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos,
> Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes,'—

and the dictum, '*audentes fortuna juvat.*'

'Idleness is the burial of man's power; man is not born for himself alone, and how I pray you will a man be good to others who is of no use to himself, and that man is of no use to himself who passes his life in ease and sleep: though a man be but as a piece of stone, or lead, or stock or stump of wood, yet remember *labor omnia vincit improbus*, practice and use may overcome the most obtuse disposition. *Vale, bone lector, pro innata tibi bonitate nostri memor.*'

Bishop Sherburne was at least fifty-six years old when he was translated to Chichester, yet he occupied the see for twenty-eight years, and his register during the greater part of that period is filled with records of visitations, and the other usual official acts.

I shall not enter again into the condition of the monastic houses, save to remark that the records of the bishop's visitation prove that some houses which had hitherto maintained a respectable character were becoming infected with the general corruption. The account of Boxgrave Priory in 1518 is far less satisfactory than on the occasion of any former visitation. The bishop's injunctions prove that the rules of the order had been seriously neglected.

The prior was too notorious in his skill in archery and other vain sports outside the boundaries; henceforth neither he nor any of the brethren are to be allowed to indulge themselves in such amusements beyond the precincts. Bad characters having been admitted as brethren,

no admissions hereafter were to be made without the bishop's knowledge and approval. The common seal was to be kept under three keys, belonging to the prior, sub-prior, and senior monk; and nothing was to be sealed without the consent of a majority of the chapter. A reckoning was to be made once a year, and recorded in a parchment book.

The bell for matins was to ring at one o'clock, when the monks were to enter the church two and two, and go out in like manner; no talking or drinking was to go on in church; whether the brethren were eating, listening to holy readings, going to bed or rising from it, they were to keep silence; they were to clean out their cells with their own hands, and, that the devil may never find them idle, they were to have gardens in which they might work, the ground having been first cleared of thorns and weeds, and brought into such a condition as to make labour upon it a pleasant recreation. The brethren were to dine at eleven and to sup at five in the refectory, according to the rule of St. Benedict, and were not to wander outside the bounds of the house without the licence of the prior or sub-prior.

These injunctions were to be written in a large parchment book and read in chapter once a month.

The increasing poverty of all the smaller houses is shown by the remarkably large list of those which were exempted from payment of the first of four tenths voted by Convocation in 1527. It includes in the archdeaconry of Chichester the following: Arundel, Boxgrave, Dureford, Esebourne, Heryngham, Ruspar, Schulbrede, Tortington; and in the archdeaconry of Lewes: Beyham, Grenestede, Hastings, and Mychelham.

By far the most interesting documents, however, relating to Bishop Sherburne are the minute records of

his various foundations and benefactions contained in his 'Book of Donations,' a beautiful specimen of the legal handwriting of that period.

From one point of view the bishop's foundations look like so many elaborate contrivances for glorifying his past memory and securing the future salvation of himself and his family, since almost everyone connected with them is instructed to pray diligently at stated times for the soul of the founder and of his parents; but this anxiety for his own spiritual welfare in the world to come is more than compensated by the care manifested for the interests, both temporal and spiritual, of other people.

Among what may be called the more personal of his foundations was his anniversary day, to be observed for ever, before and after his death, for the welfare of his own soul and the souls of his parents and benefactors. Most minute regulations for the celebration of it were drawn up after diligent consultation with the dean and chapter.

It was to be held on the feast of St. Frideswide during his lifetime, beginning in 1524, and after his death on the day of his decease.

The prebendary of Bursalis (one of four founded by him) was to direct the city beadle every year to go round the town and suburbs on the day before his anniversary and proclaim that on that day Robert IV. of good memory, bishop of Chichester, died, whose obsequies would be celebrated on the morrow at the third hour, and on the day following masses would be performed and largesses made to the poor at ten o'clock. The beadle was to be paid sevenpence for his work.

At the requisition of the same prebendary all members of chapter were to be ordered by the dean to attend chapter on the anniversary day, and there hear

one of the bishop's prebendaries read all the ordinances concerning the anniversary, which he was to conclude by saying, 'May the soul of Bishop Robert, and the souls of his parents and benefactors, by the mercy of God, rest in peace.' The prebendary of Bursalis was then to present to the dean a flagon of wine, with bread or fruit to the value of twelvepence, which he himself should first receive at the hands of the dean and chapter.

Each verger, to the number of five, was to be paid fourpence 'on account of their heavy labour,' inasmuch as they shall begin to ring with the great bells (*tinnire cum magnis campanis*) in the first hour after noon, and shall continue, at short intervals, for the space of an hour at a time until after the obsequies, that the citizens may be the more stirred up to devotion.

On the anniversary, before the greater mass, a sermon was to be preached in the nave by the bishop's theological prebendary unless excused by the dean for good cause. He was to be paid five shillings for his task, and was to address himself more especially to the inculcation of charity and avoiding of detraction, the education of boys in virtue, the avoiding of idleness, and of murmurs against God when things do not prosperously turn out; vices which, the good bishop innocently remarks, 'although we have in person often forbidden them, yet have we never been able to extirpate.'

A distribution of bread was to be made *omnibus tum Cicestriam declinantibus*, who were to go first to the cathedral to say prayers, so as to be at the palace by ten o'clock in the morning.

The dean, if he celebrated high mass on the anniversary, was to have five shillings, and every canon present to the number of twelve two shillings, every priest-vicar to the number of sixteen sixpence, and every chorister to

the number of eight fourpence; and each was to make an offering in proportion.

The dean or his vicegerent was to invite all the canons present to dine, and to receive one shilling for each. After grace the dean was to say, 'And may the soul of thy servant Robert IV., Thomas Chandeler, Joanna Halman, and all faithful dead, his parents and benefactors, by the mercy of God, rest in peace.'

Each vicar-choral was to have sixpence for his refection, the two royal chaplains sixpence each, the choristers twopence, the other servants, four in all, one penny each to dine where they pleased.

Three servants appointed by the dean were to approach the bishop immediately on his entrance either into the church or the palace or any other place within the precincts of the close, or, if possible, whenever he came out of the church in pontifical state preceded by his bell, and were to offer him bread made of the purest wheat and two flagons of the best wine, and, if he seemed to notice and listen, they were to say, 'Bishop Robert IV., your predecessor has sent you bread and wine for your happy advent to your church.' But if he did not seem to hear them, then they were to deliver half of the said gifts to the principal and society of priest vicars, and the other half to the prebendaries founded by the bishop. The wine was to be called St. Richard's wine; and the same ceremony was to be observed if ever a king, queen, or primate visited the church, save that on such occasions half of the wine was to be *hypocratian*, and the whole quantity doubled, and choice fruits were to be offered in addition to the bread.

As a reward for their labour and trouble in connexion with his anniversary the bishop bequeathed an annual gift of £5 to the dean and chapter, to be expended in the

purchase of wine by their communar on or about St. Martin's day, when wine was on sale in the city or neighbourhood. The communar was to notify to the dean the several kinds of wine in the market, and to provide as he directed for the purchase of the wine, which was to be divided equally among the residentiaries.

A sum of £24 was bequeathed, yielding twenty-four shillings annually, to be divided equally among eight choristers, on condition that every day, on first entering the cathedral in the morning about the last ringing for the mass of the Blessed Virgin, after saluting the sacrament, they should walk two and two to the bishop's tomb, and say there the psalm *De Profundis*, adding the versicle 'Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord,' and concluding with the prayer, 'May the soul of thy servant Robert, his parents and benefactors, by the mercy of God, rest in peace.' The money was to be called 'my Lorde Robert's dyvydent money.' Then there was 'my Lorde Robert's bedesman,' who was to assist the bishop's prebendaries when they officiated at the four altars within the choir; he was to prepare the altars, to sound a bell for mass, to wear a surplice in the choir, and to keep the altars and the bishop's alabaster effigy clean from dust and cobwebs. He was of course to pray for the bishop, his parents, and benefactors, and every day after noon he was to say before the bishop's tomb five Pater Nosters, as many Ave Marias, and the Apostles' Creed. In remuneration for these various little duties he was to be paid four shillings every month by the prebendary Bursalis, ten shillings annually on St. Michael's day for a black gown, three shillings and fourpence for two shirts, two shillings and eightpence *pro duobus piliis*, fifteenpence for two pairs of socks, and four shillings for two pairs of boots. Three shillings and fourpence were

to be expended annually on washing and repairing the tomb.

On the bishop's anniversary, as also on the anniversary of his predecessor Ralph, the dean and chapter were to provide for the eight chorister boys eight small cups of the purest glass; each of the cups was to be filled with milk coloured with saffron, sweetened with sugar, and thickened with egg. Each boy was to hold his cup in one hand, and in the other a little loaf and a silver spoon. Thus they were to proceed to the bishop's tomb, and when one of them had finished his mess he was to say the invariable 'May the soul of Bishop Robert, our benefactor, and the souls of all the faithful dead, by the mercy of God, rest in peace;' to which the others should answer, Amen.

The master of the choir boys was every day to see that they were tidy, and their surplices clean and whole; also that they walked two and two to the bishop's tomb, and there, devoutly kneeling before it, said the psalm *De Profundis*. For this the master was to receive sevenpence a week, provided he said daily on rising or going to bed one Pater Noster, one Ave Maria, and the Apostles' Creed, ending with the usual prayer for the soul of Bishop Robert.

It is touching to read all these precise and careful instructions of the poor old man for the celebration of ceremonies for the welfare of his soul on the very eve of that revolution in religion which swept nearly all of them away; almost more touching to read his provision, slight and vain against days of poverty and spoliation, which he deemed as possible, though improbable and remote. If, at any future time, he says, the revenues and possessions conferred by him on the dean and chapter should become dissipated or disturbed, the dean and chapter were

strenuously to resist the injury, and were to draw for their expenses in maintaining their rights upon a reserve sum bequeathed by him for that purpose; and if that failed, then they were to take the annual £5 assigned for the purchase of wine. And if ('which Heaven forbid') all the property should be evicted, they were to consult with the bishop, and implore him to interfere on their behalf, as it could not be supposed that any bishop would be so 'iron-hearted' as not to be softened by such an appeal. 'And because,' he concludes, 'as the world verges to its decline, human nature, poisoned at its root, daily increases in all evil, we therefore, wishing, so far as our frailty allows, to meet it shield to shield, ordain and will that £20 sterling be kept in our chest for accidental cases, to be used in repelling injuries at the discretion of the dean and chapter.'

The document from which all these extracts are made was given and enacted at the manor of Aldingbourne on March 7, 1523.

In the preamble to the deed by which he founds four Wykamical prebends, the bishop remarks with much candour that, *next to the salvation of his own soul*, he earnestly desires the promotion of learning and religion among the people. With this laudable view he founded the four prebends in 1526 already mentioned, by which he conferred benefit on the places of his education as well as his cathedral.

The four prebends were created, he expressly says, to increase the working staff of the cathedral clergy, which was small and poor compared with that of other cathedrals. They were to be given each by the bishop to a doctor or bachelor in divinity, or, at the least, to a master of arts who had been educated at the two St. Mary Wynton Colleges.

The prebends were called by the names of Bursalis, Wyndham, Exceit, and Bargeham. The revenues of the decayed hospital of St. Edmund at Wyndham and the chantry of the Virgin in West Angmering were united, to make a provision for the prebendary of Wyndham, and, in like manner, the free chapel of Bargeham, which had been bought from Sir John Dudley for 100 marks, and the hospital of St. James, near Seaford, for £20, from the abbey of Robertsbridge, provided for the prebendary of Bargeham. Exceit was provided for out of the church or chapel of Exceit, of which the bishop had bought the advowson from the abbey of Beyham, with one acre of land from the abbey of Robertsbridge.

For Bursalis the sum of £266. 13s. 4d. was bequeathed, to yield an annual income of 20 marks.

The four prebendaries were to reside constantly in Chichester; but two months' absence in the year was allowed in the case of one who held a benefice elsewhere. They were to occupy a house of which the door was in the left wall of the cloister going towards the deanery. Sufficient private rooms were to be assigned to each, but the garden and the dining-hall were to be common, and certain rights were to be reserved for Master Edward Moore, the late occupant, now warden of St. Mary's College, Winchester, inasmuch as he had adorned, repaired, and in part rebuilt the house. They were to be habited in grey, after the manner of the other prebendaries, to be incorporated in the college of the priest-vicars, and to share their emoluments, but to take the profits of funeral obsequies in the same proportion as non-resident canons. Their special duties, besides preaching in their turns, were to celebrate mass at the altar lately put up by the founder's tomb, to take special care of his tomb and effigy, and, it is hardly necessary to

add, to pray for the founder, his parents, and benefactors, more especially William of Wykeham, John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, Henry VII. and his consort Elizabeth, besides several other private individuals.

As a kind of appendage or supplement to his four prebends, the bishop also founded four lay clerkships on account of the smallness of the musical staff. The clerks were to be men of melodious voices and well instructed in music; one of them at least must have a bass, the other three must have sweet and tuneful voices with a natural and easy compass of fifteen or sixteen notes. They were to walk in front of the choir-boys habited in plain surplices without plaits, 'not too long and not too short,' with the initial letters of the founder, R. S., worked into the back and breast in black and gold silk. Every night on going to bed they were to say the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, and Apostles' Creed five times, ending with the invariable 'May the soul of thy servant Robert,' &c. Their annual stipend was £10; they were not to be employed in the households or service of any of the resident canons, and on great festivals they were to escort the dean to and from the cathedral.

The College of Priest-Vicars also came in for a share in the bishop's benefactions.

There are two indentures made in the name of the principal of the college, Hugh Lassell. The first is to certify that the vicars had received £100 from the bishop, to serve as a fund for the perpetual supply of fuel for their hall and kitchen [*pro sustinendis et comparandis in perpetuum focalibus aulæ et coquinæ nostræ*], over and above a garden adjacent to their college, 'mightily convenient and useful' [*nobis valde commodum et utilem*], which the bishop had bestowed upon them freely, and had procured a confirmation of his grant from the

dean and chapter. As a grateful return for these benefits, the vicars would ever reckon the bishop among their special benefactors, and on going out from matins would sing the *De Profundis* for him, and pray for the soul of him and his parents; and whenever they celebrated high mass they would use a special collect in commemoration of him. Should they ever fail (which God forbid) in any of these engagements, they bound themselves to a fine of 3s. 4d., which was to be added to a fund established by the bishop for providing virtuous but needy maidens with marriage dowers. 'In testimony whereof we have applied our common seal. Given in our Common Hall on the 5th day of September, 1521.'

The second indenture is to certify that an annual sum of £5 having been, on the supplication of the vicars, granted them by the bishop, together with free power to choose land to the value of 100 marks, they had chosen a parcel of land called Stockbridge, near Chichester, lately sued and recovered according to law by the bishop from John Ryman, gentleman, late of Appledram; also a house in North Street occupied by John Hook, a butcher, another in South Street, near Canon's Gate, and several quit-rents, with all of which they affirm that they are and will be content.

The bishop did not confine his benefactions to the cathedral or the clergy. The city, too, was to share in his bounty, on condition of taking a part in the prayers for the welfare of his soul. There is a document in which the mayor, bailiff, and fellow-burgesses of Chichester, in consideration of £40 left by the bishop, with which they have purchased land and houses to the clear annual value of forty shillings, engage to go every year, on St. Frydeswide's day, to the altar of the bishop, after the ringing of the bells in the greater bell tower, and there

cause mass to be celebrated before them by the city chaplain or some other, for the soul of the said reverend father, his parents and benefactors. 'And, since it is a holy and wholesome thing to pray for the dead, we will each of us offer a penny to Almighty God, and will say the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, and Apostles' Creed for the soul of the said reverend father.' If the mayor and corporation failed to fulfil these engagements, they were to forfeit forty shillings to the dean and chapter, who, in case of refusal, might distrain for it upon the lands and tenements of the civic powers.

But perhaps the most curious of the worthy bishop's municipal benefactions is that which he bestowed on the guild of St. George. This guild was founded in Chichester in 1446; the members consisted of men and women belonging to the most respectable and opulent class of citizens, who were bound together for deeds of charity and prayer. The mayor of the city for the time being was master of the guild, assisted by four wardens. They held lands, not exceeding the value of £10 per annum, for the perpetual maintenance of a chaplain, who was to say mass daily in the chapel of St. George within the cathedral church, and more especially to pray for the good estate of the king during his life, and for his soul after death. The bishop's grant, which was settled on the mayor, the four wardens, the brethren and sisters of the fraternity or guild of St. George, consisted of lands of the annual value of twenty shillings to be held for ever on three conditions: (1.) That when there was a sale in the town they should purchase a quarter of a hogshead of choice wine, worth twenty shillings at least, for which the bishop allowed £2 a year. The wine was to be kept carefully in some place near the great cross, up to the next feast of St. George. (2.) That on this

feast-day a portion of the wine should be consumed at the dinner of the said brethren and sisters. (3.) That, the usual verses being ended in the chapel of St. George, and an antiphon having been sung in the cathedral, the remainder of the said wine should be totally consumed after the customary honest merriment round the city cross [*post honestos jocos circa dictam crucem fieri consuetos*]; and when it was drained the propinator (? toastmaster) was to point to the clock and say, in a clear voice before the people, 'It is finished. Pray for my Lord Robert's solle, and all his frendis solles. Amen!' If this condition were not fulfilled, the dean and chapter might resume possession of the lands for that year. It is not probable that they ever had to enforce the right.

The work, however, in which the bishop's character appears in its brightest light is the foundation of the grammar-school in his native village, Rolleston, in Staffordshire. I shall not scruple to make some extracts from his rules for the government of it, because they illustrate the times, as well as the personal character of the founder, and show that, old as he was, and brought up in the old system of education, he was not unfavourable towards the 'new learning,' as it was called, and was in some degree affected by it.

The school was to be under the supervision of guardians, but their nature and number are unfortunately not stated. The appointment of the master was vested in the warden of New College, Oxford, who was to present him to the guardians within twenty days after receiving notice from them of the vacancy; if not filled up within that period, the nomination lapsed to the guardians. The master was to be paid by the guardians £10 annually, which were to be handed over to them or their attorney by some representative of the dean and chapter of

Chichester, at the font in the nave of St. Paul's, London, on St. Martin's day, between one and five o'clock.

If the master was in holy orders, he might hold a benefice, provided the work of the school was not neglected. He might absent himself to visit his benefice on Christmas day, Easter, and Pentecost, but never for longer than three days together, except for some very urgent business, and then he was to provide a substitute.

The guardians were to watch the progress of the scholars, and might dismiss the master after three months' warning if he neglected his duties. If the guardians neglected their duties, the dean and chapter of Chichester might shut up the school and devote the money to the support of a chaplain in the cathedral, to be appointed alternately by the chapter and by the warden of New College. The master's stipend was never to be paid to the guardians until they certified that the school was in an efficient state.

The master was to see that the boys were well-mannered, nicely dressed, and their hair neatly combed; also that they abstained from all foul and slanderous speaking, mindful of the maxim: 'Quod nova testa capit inveterata sapit.'

The boys were to meet at six o'clock in summer and seven o'clock in winter, and the school was to be opened with prayers, consisting of the Psalm *Deus Misereatur*, the Kyrie Eleison repeated three times, the Pater Noster and Ave Maria, and other prayers as used at Winchester; and at the dismissal, prayers being ended, the master was to say, 'May the souls of thy servant Robert, our founder, his parents and benefactors, rest in peace!'

The parents of the boys were to take care that their persons were free from vermin and their garments in good repair, and such parents as could afford it were to

provide surplices for the children, that in processions and the like they might do the more honour to their parish church. The master is required to take special pains with the more intelligent boys, not only for their own sake, but also that they may help to instruct the younger and more backward, and so relieve him from the intolerable irksomeness (*intolerabili fastidio*) of rudimentary teaching.

Some of the bishop's maxims concerning the qualifications needful for a schoolmaster are so sound and wise that I make no apology for citing them.

First of all, he remarks, it behoves a teacher to be patient, and, so far as he can, to distribute his mind into as many parts as there are ears and minds among his scholars, inasmuch as he is a debtor to them all. But since, according to the philosopher, first emotions are not in our power, if the master finds himself getting a little angry, let him, after Plato's example, pass over the boy who has provoked him and put the question to another, or else propound a new one until his heat has abated; for it does not become a teacher who is to plant good morals in the hearts of his scholars to be lame in his own moral conduct. It is a vulgar and base thing when the fault which a teacher reproves in others recoils upon himself. 'Our age,' the bishop remarks, 'has experienced such teachers, who had better have gone to sleep than teach like fools (*insulsè*).'

The mind in its infancy is like a blank tablet; its blindness must be enlightened by reason rather than force. The teacher should, therefore, carefully scrutinise the intellect of each boy, and exercise it gradually, beginning with the lighter tasks, and acting on the traditional dictum of Hippocrates the physician, that 'nature should be led along the path on which it

started;' if the intellect is lively, the instructor may venture to load it a little more heavily. When a scholar has learned anything thoroughly, though it be but a little matter, the teacher should praise him heartily for it, quoting some such lines as the following:—

'Omni bina die si disco verba sophiæ
De puero parvo, clericus aptus ero.'

And infinitely varied plans for the encouragement of the boys are to be considered.

In short, the master should be discreet, watchful, diligent, and in all respects behave himself to the boys like a father with his sons. Advice concerning the food and drink, clothing, exercise, sleep, books, and companions suitable for boys might be found in Boethius and other authors, which, if the master studied himself, and also diligently taught to the boys, it would redound to his honour and the advantage of the children, 'which may God grant, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.'

The foregoing statutes, rules, and general precepts concerning the foundation and government of his school were submitted by the bishop to the criticism of his great friend John Tailour, archdeacon of Buckingham, and to the bishop of Lichfield. Copies of the letters which passed between them are preserved in the same book which contains the statutes. They are too long for transcription here in full, but in some points demand consideration. Tailour expresses much general admiration of the proposed statutes, and modestly fears that any alteration he might suggest would mar rather than mend the scheme (*polluere potius quam pollire*). He will confine himself to one proposal only;—that passages from

sacred Latin authors should be translated into English and copied into a large book, to be given to the master of the school and wardens of the parish, and by them attached to a wall with iron chains, for passers-by to read.

By the bearer of this letter he sends the bishop a 'most elegant little book,' containing the familiar colloquies of 'the most learned Erasmus,' which the teacher in the new school may gradually instil into the minds of even young beginners, and train them by means of the same, instead of themes which in old days were called 'Latinities.'

The archdeacon's letter is dated from the suburban house of my Lord Cardinal at Hampton Court, March 10, 1523.

The bishop willingly accedes to the suggestion of the large book, being 'well aware that ordinary minds shrink from even semi-Latin as much as if it was Chaldæan.' He concludes by saying that he is anxious to complete the settlement of the school as soon as possible, since his age was increasing. He had arranged with his chapter in Chichester for the annual payment in perpetuity of £10 to the master, and now nothing was wanting but their formal ratification of assent. His letter is dated from Aldingbourne, 1523.

In his letter to the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield he asks for his fatherly sanction and blessing on the undertaking, and solicits advice.

The bishop expresses his thorough approval of the plan, but wishes that some larger and healthier place near Rolleston might be selected for the purpose; but with this suggestion Sherburne respectfully declined to comply, on account of his attachment to his native place and his unwillingness to disappoint the inhabitants, who were aware of his intention.

It only remains to notice Bishop Sherburne's benefactions to the see in the way of buildings, decorations, and bequests of jewels and ornaments. The fabric of the cathedral was complete, and the bishop's work here was confined to internal fittings and adornments. As Fuller says, 'he decored the church with many ornaments.' He put up new stalls, eighteen on either side of the choir, which were partly crushed by the fall of the spire in 1861, but were repaired after that disaster, or replaced by new ones in imitation of the original pattern. Some slight remains of the painting with which the old ones were once embellished may yet be traced in the chancellor's stall. A wooden reredos also, corresponding in style to the stall work, was given by the bishop; fragments of it are preserved in the chamber over the present library.

In the southern transept are two large oil paintings on wood, about twelve feet high and eight feet wide, executed by Bernardi, an Italian artist, who, with his two sons, seems to have been much patronised by the bishop. The first represents .Wilfrith with his companions supplicating King Ceadwalla for a grant of land on which to build their church and clergy-house. A scroll issues from the right hand of Wilfrith bearing the inscription, 'Da servis Dei locum habitationis propter Deum.' The king (who, with his retinue, is attired in the costume of the reign of Henry VIII.) points, with a smiling countenance, to an open book borne by one of his attendants, on which is inscribed 'Fiat sicut petitur.'

The second picture represents Bishop Sherburne himself approaching Henry VIII. in like manner, and addressing him as 'Sanctissime rex propter Deum confirma ecclesiam tuam Cicestrensem sicut Ceadwalla rex Suthsexiensium ecclesiam Selesiens olim cathedralem con-

firmavit;' to which the king graciously replies, 'Pro amore Jesu Christi quod petis concedo.'[1]

Over the north transept is a series of imaginary portraits of the bishops from Wilfrith to Sherburne.

The episcopal palace is indebted to Bishop Sherburne, first, for the entrance gateway at the west end of Canon Lane, and the chamber over it, possibly used at one time as a place of confinement for persons convicted of heresy or crime in the bishop's court; secondly, for the ceiling of the dining-hall, which is handsomely painted with heraldic designs and cyphers—H. K. for Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine, W. A. for William, earl of Arundel, T. L. for Thomas, Lord de la Warr, H. O. for Sir Henry Owen, R. S. for Robert Sherburne.

But a far more beautiful memorial of the bishop than any of these works is the quaint, picturesque and lofty tower of red brick which he added to the episcopal Manor House at Cakeham, near West Wittering. It is an irregular hexagon with labelled windows, and may be seen from afar like a fantastic chimney rising above the trees. The view from the top is the more striking from its contrast to the dulness of the scene beneath. He who stands below can see nothing but a few level dreary-looking fields like all the rest which stretch between Chichester and the sea. But let him climb the tower and he will see, almost at his feet, as Bishop Sherburne must often have seen, the broad Channel unbroken southwards, broken westwards by the white Culver Cliff and the massive Downs hanging over Shanklin, in the Isle of Wight. With one sweep of the eye he can take in the shore where the South Saxon invader first set his foot, and

[1] The original merit of these paintings, which are interesting as being contemporaneous with Raphael, whatever it may have been, has been almost wholly effaced by the daubing to which under the name of restoration they were subjected in the time of Bishop Mawson.

the extremity of the Selsey peninsula, where the descendants of that invader first learned to worship in Wilfrith's cathedral church; while turning northwards he may discern, across the level land, dappled with lights and shadows, the spire of the present cathedral standing up silvery white against the soft green background of the Downs.

Bishop Sherburne survived the most tragical and heartshaking events in the reign of Henry VIII. He saw the fall of Wolsey and the divorce of Queen Katharine, followed by the rapid rise of Cromwell and the beginning of those systematic measures of oppression by which the merciless and unprincipled minister sought to lay the liberties alike of Church and State prostrate at the feet of his tyrannical master. He outlived his old friend and contemporary, the Primate Warham, whose amiable, liberal disposition, and literary tastes were congenial to his own. He saw Cranmer place the long-coveted crown on the head of Anne Boleyn, and within a little while that self-same head laid low upon the fatal block. He saw his learned and high-minded brother of Rochester, Bishop Fisher, and the gentle and accomplished wit and scholar, the pious Christian, the foremost gentleman of his country, if not of the age, Sir Thomas More, suffer for conscience sake.

His own feelings respecting the promulgation of the royal supremacy are apparent from the following letter addressed to Cromwell on the subject, which prepares us for the resignation of his bishopric that soon afterwards occurred. It is an affecting document:—

'After my most hearty recommendations, with like thanks for your manifold kindnesses shewed unto me in times past: Pleaseth it you to be advertised that upon Sunday, viz., the 13th day of this instant month of June, after such smal talent

as God hath lent me, I preached the word of God openly in my Cathedral Church of Chichester, and also published there the King's most dreadful commandment concerning (with other things) the uniting of the supreme head of the Church of England unto the Imperial Crown of this realm; and also the abolishing and secluding out of this realm the enormities and abuses of the Bishop of Rome's authority usurped within the same. And likewise have sent forth my suffragan[1] to preach and publish most speedily the same in the most populous townes within my dioces. And further, have proceded that by this day at the furthest, there is neither Abbot, Prior, Dean, Archdeacon, Provost, Parson, Vicar, nor Curate within my dioces but they have commandment to publish the same in their churches every Sunday and solemne Feast accordingly. And as much as in me is I shal see and cause them to continue in doing of their duty in this behalf. Most heartily desiring you the King's highnes that it may please his Grace, considering my age and impotency, that the further doing of these promises by other sufficient persons, may be sufficient for my discharge in this behalf. And if it shal please you to particularly advertise me of the King's plesure herein, ye shal bind me to do you any plesure that lyeth in my litel power. And thus fare ye most heartily wel.

'From Selsey, 28th June.

'Your bounden orator,

'ROBT. CICESATR.'[2]

This is the letter of a man who was too loyal a subject to disobey his sovereign or decline the task imposed upon him, but who certainly discharged it with little relish. He may have been content to see the papal jurisdiction in England repudiated. He might have sympathised with a reformation wrought under the influence of large-minded and large-hearted men like Erasmus, Colet, and More by a natural process of piety and learning; but

[1] Who his suffragan was I have not discovered.

[2] Strype's *Memorials*, vol. i. Appendix.

to accept a system alike in doctrine and ceremonial manufactured under the superintendence of such a man as Cromwell was more than he could endure. He resigned his bishopric before Convocation assembled on June 9, 1536; that Convocation in which Cromwell, as vicar-general, sat in the Upper House and was practically almost supreme. A pension of £400 was assigned to him for the remainder of his life, and confirmed by Act of Parliament; but he did not live long to enjoy it.[1] His successor, Richard Sampson, was consecrated on June 11; but Sherburne sat in the earlier meetings of Convocation and supported the archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Lincoln in their defence of the seven sacraments, when Cranmer maintained that two only were divinely instituted. The articles finally agreed upon after protracted sittings of this Convocation, prohibiting in the Church of England some of the worst abuses of mediævalism, especially the adoration of saints and relics, the traffic in pardons, and the practice of saying masses for the dead, were signed by Sampson as bishop of Chichester, with seventeen other bishops. But before they were generally published Sherburne was no more. The effort of attending at the beginning of the session, the failure of his party, the dictatorial rule of Cromwell, broke down the health and spirit of the poor old man, already oppressed with a load of years. He died August 20, 1536, and his will is dated August 2. We can imagine it must have been with feelings of humiliation and shame that he dictated the clause, 'And to my singular goode Lorde Cromwell one cup of silver gilt with a cover of xx ounces, desyring him to be goode Lorde to my executors for performing my last will.'

[1] Burnet's *Ref.* i. 346.

His tomb, which is so often referred to in his documents, had been prepared under his own direction. In his will he bequeathed his body to be buried in the cathedral church, in a 'poore remembrance that I have made there in the south side of the same church.' The 'poore remembrance' is a recess enclosed by a canopy beneath which still reposes the alabaster effigy of the bishop painted and gilded. The background is blue spangled with stars, in the midst of which are the figures of two angels bearing the mitre of the bishop over his coat of arms, and the motto 'operibus credite.' Beneath the figure is the text, 'Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo, Domine, Robert Sherburne.'

By what happy accident or peculiar care this monument escaped the havoc done by the parliamentary soldiers who sacked the cathedral in the siege of 1643, there is no record.

CHAPTER VII.

BISHOP SAMPSON: EXTRACTS FROM HIS REGISTER—THE PULPITS SILENCED—ORDER FOR TAKING DOWN ST. RICHARD'S SHRINE—SAMPSON'S PREACHING OFFENDS CROMWELL—HE IS SENT TO THE TOWER — HIS LETTERS TO CROMWELL — BISHOP DAYE — HIS OPPOSITION TO THE REFORMATION—REFUSES TO TAKE DOWN THE STONE ALTARS—IMPRISONED — DEPOSED—SCORY TRANSLATED FROM ROCHESTER TO CHICHESTER—DAYE RESTORED—CHRISTOPHERSON, MARY'S BISHOP, TAKES PART IN THE VISITATION OF CAMBRIDGE—BURNS REFORMERS.

Bishops.	Accession.	Contemporary Sovereigns.
Richard Sampson .	1536 . . .	Henry VIII.
George Daye .	1543 . . .	Henry VIII. / Edward VI.
John Scory . .	1552 . . .	Edward VI.
George Daye restored / John Christopherson	1554 / 1557 . . .	Mary.

THE death o bishop Sherburne marks the beginning of a new era in the history of our see, and of the Church of England. With him ends the period of that close alliance between Church and State when great bishops had been great statesmen as well as prelates; and in the vastness of their wealth, and splendour of their style of living, rivalled secular princes. With him, too, close the days of mediæval superstitions, of gorgeous ceremonial, and, it must be added also, of architectural genius. From this epoch begin those struggles of the Church with the State on the one hand or the infinite varieties of dissent on the other which in their many forms, and with their many

influences for good and evil, have lasted down to the present time.

The aged Sherburne himself just lived to witness (though he may have been then too ill to heed it), one of the most arbitrary measures by which the government, as administered by Cromwell, sought to place the church beneath its feet.

On July 29, 1536, the chancellor of the bishop of Chichester read to the clergy of the deanery of Boxgrave, assembled in large numbers in the cathedral, a mandatory letter from the king to the bishop, in the following terms :—

'Right reverend father in God, right trustye and well-beloved, we grete you well. And forasmuch as being, by the ordynance of God, king of this realme, and by virtue thereof supreme hed of the churche of the same, it apperteyneth to our duty to provide and forsee that unite, concorde and agreement, may remayne amonge our subjects, membres of that body politiq whereof we be the hed, especially in opinions and sentence of our religion. Albeit, considerying that upon contencion arisen amongst our people in diversitie of certayn opinions we have, conformably to our sayd duty for the perfect settyng forth of the truth of Godd's word, the suppression of errors, and the reducyng of such controversies, to oon good and catholique conformitie, causid all you the bishops, with the clergie of our realme, in solemn convocation deliberatyng, disputyng and advisyng the same to agree to certayn articles most caltholiquely conceyved, yett to the entent our godly purpose in that behalfe, myndyng only that unitie that God's holy worde doth requyre, should not by any means be impaired; ne by the malice of any sedicious persons attemptyng before the same shall be thoroughly published and divulged, to expound the devise thereof, after theyr fantasticall appetite in any wise defacid or slandrid :—We have thought convenient to take a generall order that no sarmons shall be made or preached between this and Michaelmas next ensuyng in any churche, chappell, monastery, college or other place within thys our realme, unless it be our byshops in youre owne persones, or in your presence or in

youre cathedral churches where ordinary sarmons be cústomably made, which ordinary sarmon we will and command you to furnyshe with such discrete lernyd and honest men as ye will yourself answer for unto us, in case any inconvenience ensue of theyr document and teachyng.'

The letter then proceeds at considerable length to charge the bishop to withdraw all licenses from preachers in his diocese, and command all incumbents to 'pass over the time with a secrete silence till ye shall eftsoons other advertise them by your commandment.'

It ends by prescribing the exact form of bidding prayer to be used from that time forward, 'To the intent that all diversitie in the manner of teaching and preaching may be avoyded and eschued as a thing much offendyng oure people.'

It runs thus:—'Ye shall pray for the hole congregacion of Christ's churche, and especially for this churche of England, wherein first I recommend to your devoute prayers the kynge's most excellent majestie supreme hed immediately under God of the spiritualtie and temporaltie of the same churche, and the most noble and vertuous lady Queene Jane, his most lawfull wife. Seconde, ye shall pray for the clergie, the Lords temporal and Commons of this realme, beseechyng Almighty God to give every of them in his degre grace to use themselfes in such wise as may be to his contentacion, the kynge's honour, and the weale of the realme. Thirdly, ye shall pray for the souls that be departed abidyng the mercy of Almighty God, that it may please Hym, the rather at the contemplacion of our prayers, to grant them the fruicion of his presence. Ffynally, our pleasure is ye shall also gyve speciall commandment unto every of the said curetts and other persons before specified, that none of them presume, after the day lymitid' (viz. September 29) 'to preache anything touchyng any of the said articles which shall be sent unto them, without addying or diminishyng to or from the same as they will answer at ther perell that shall so offend to the contrary thereof, unless they have your speciall license under your seal to explicate the

same at more length, in which case we will charge you with successe of the same.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Westminster, the 12th day of July."

Similar letters were to be read in all the deaneries.[1]

These documents were soon followed by another, of which the effect must have been far more widely felt, and which was probably not so easily acquiesced in by the people at large as that which silenced the pulpits.

It is entitled a 'Charte concerning the abrogacion of the holy days,' and is to the following effect:—

'Fforasmuch as the nombre of holydays is so excessyvely growen, and yet dayly more and more, by men's devotion, yea rather superstition, was like further to increase, that the same was and should be not only prejudiciall to the commyn weale, by reason that it is occasion as well of mych slouth and idleness, the very nurse of thieves and vagabondes, and loss of men's goods, many times being destroyed through the superstitious observances of the sayde holydays, in not taking good and serene wether offered upon the same in the tyme of harvest, but also pernicious to the soulls of many men, which, being intisid by the licentious vacation and liberte of those holydays, do upon the same commynly use and practise more express riot and superfluite than upon any other days; and sith the Sabboth day was ordeyned but for man's use, and therefore ought to give place to the necessitie and labour of the same whensover that shall occur, much rather any other holyday instituted by man. It is therefore by the king's highness's authority, as supreme hed in earth of the church of Englond, with the commyn assent and consent of the prelates and clergie of this his realme, in Convocacion lawfully assembled and congregated, among other thyngs decreed, ordeyned and established:

'Ffirst: that the feast of the dedicacion of the church shall in all places throwout this realme be celebrated and kept on the 1st Sonday of the month of October for ever, and upon no other day.

'Item, that the feast of the patron of every churche within

[1] The 'bidding prayer' was slightly altered in 1547, and again in 1604, to the present canonical form of it.

this realme, callid commonly the churche holyday, shal not from henceforth be kept or observed as a holyday as heretofore have byn usid, but that it shal be lawfull to all and singular persons resident or dwellyng within this realme to go to their work, occupation or mystery, and the same to exercise and occupy upon the saide feaste as upon any other working day, except the saide feast of the church holyday be such as must be very universally observed as a holyday.'[1]

This stroke at the observance of holydays was followed up in 1538 by a more telling blow—the appointment of commissioners to execute a royal order for the demolition of St. Richard's shrine. The shrine of St. Richard was not indeed the very heart and life-blood of the place; the cathedral and the city did not owe their origin to it, as at Durham and Ely, where the mighty minster had been raised to shelter the remains of their patron saints, and the towns had grown up round them as if in humble adoration. But yet for nearly 300 years St. Richard had been one of the great saints, his shrine one of the great shrines of southern England; the sanctity of the place had been greatly raised in the eyes of the world; the prosperity of the place must have been largely promoted by the thousands of pilgrims who for the benefit of soul or body came to worship at the shrine, or the travellers who out of curiosity turned aside to see. And although many even of the more unlearned were beginning to look upon saint-worship as a vain and foolish superstition; yet the deliberate and cold-blooded destruction of the shrine, which had so long been the glory of the cathedral and city, must have been painful to most men, and to a few old-fashioned and devout believers positively heart-rending.

The order for demolition[2] is addressed to commissioners

[1] The foregoing documents are translated from Sampson's *Register*.

[2] Wilkins' *Concilia*: the words in brackets are supplied by him conjec-

Sir W. Goring, Knight, and Richard Ernley, Esq., in the name of the king, who is styled

'Henry 8th, by the grace of God king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth immediately under Xt. supreme head of the church of England.'

The document proceeds—

'Wee having been informed that in our cathedral church of [the Holy Trinity] at Chichester, there hath been used long heretofore, and yet at this day is used, much supersticion and a certain kind of idolatry about [the shrine and] bones of a certein byshop of the same, whom they call St. Richard, and a certein resorte there of the [common people], which, being men of simplicity [are seduced], by th' instigacion of some of the clergy who take advantage of [their credulity to ascribe miracles of healing and other virtues] to the said shrine and bones that God only hath power to grant; wee, willing, etc., have assigned to you to repayr unto the seid cathedral church, and to take away the shrine and bones of that bishop called St. Richard within the same, with all the ornaments to the seid shrine belonging, and all other relicks, sylver, gold, and all jewels belonging to the seid shrine; and that yee shall see them safely and surely conveyed into oure Tower of London; and yee shall see that both the shryne and the place where it was kept be destroyed, even to the ground; and all such other images of that church whereabout any notable supersticion [is used, to be carried] and conveyed away, so that our seid subjetts shall by them in no wise be deceived hereafter, but that they paye unto Almighty God, and to no earthly creature, such high honour as is due unto Him the Creator.'

The document ends with an admonition 'to the clergie and officers of the said churche and citye to aid and assist in the demolition as they under our pleasure will answer for the contrary at their extreme perill.

'Given at Hampton Court, December 14, Anno Reg. H., 38.

'THOMAS CRUMWELL.'

turally. I have ventured to put 'the Holy Trinity' instead of 'St. Peter,' as there is no evidence that the cathedral was ever called after St. Peter at this time.

The foregoing documents are enough of themselves to prove in what a very perplexing position the bishops were placed at this period. It was impossible to forecast from day to day the proceedings of an arbitrary king and an unscrupulous minister. Any moment the loyalty of the most loyally disposed prelate might be strained beyond endurance. Bishop Sampson was a reformer, and had written a book in defence of the royal supremacy, which had called forth a vituperative reply from Cardinal Pole. He had also dedicated an exposition of the first fifty Psalms to the king, in which he denounced papal pretensions with much severity. But he was a moderate man, who wished to make out what the teaching and practice of the early church had been, and to retain in the church of England whatever was in harmony with it. He was not therefore prepared to accept everything in doctrine or ceremonial which the wit of his sovereign Henry and his singular good Lord Cromwell might devise, and force upon Convocation.

An examination of his career leads us to the conclusion that he was one of those who earnestly endeavoured to combine sincere loyalty to the king with a conscientious and steadfast adherence to the principles of the church.

In his brief instruction given to the curates and clergy of the diocese of Chichester, soon after his appointment to the see,[1] he dwells chiefly on the duty of

'Following and humbly obeying the high commandments, injunctions, and godly intents of the king's majesty our sovereign, high governor under God and supreme head of the church of England . . . . not so much for fear of the corporal paines appointed in the same orders and commandments, as for the fear of the displeasure of God. . . The high minister only of God

[1] Strype's *Memorials*, i. 253

in this realme is the king's majesty, to whom we are so bound to obey here under God on earth, that whosoever doth not obey, he purchaseth his own damnation, as witnesseth St. Poll, in the xiii. chapter to the Romans.'

He requires and exhorts 'every good Christen man and woman to endeavour themselfs to accomplish the spiritual plesure and goodnes that the K. M., with his godly intents, desireth above all things to have among his people; which is, onely to be of one mind in Christ's religion, to have the same charitie of one with another that they ought to have by the wil, word, and commandment of Almighty God; not dissenting one from another, to eschue and abhor all manner contencions and vain glory, and with al humbleness with heart and mind receive the judgments and determination set forth by the king's highness, and the whole council of his royal parliament or any other by his highnes.' . . . . And since the king is 'so gracious a prince, endoued with such goodness that he hath his special study to the heavenly weal of the souls of his subjects, with the most politic governance of his commonwealth, under the pains and censures of the church, I require and charge every priest within this dioces, not only at other times, but especially in his Mas, to have and say with his heart and mind lift up to God a special collect for the prosperous health of his majesty, and in the same to have a special and expres remembrance for the preservation of my lord Prince Edward, the great inestimable jewel of this realm, that it may please God to encrease him with health of body and godly vertue of mind.'

And the bishop requires and exhorts 'every other Christen man and woman to do the like at the time of their prayers.'

The force of loyal language could not go further than this; yet Bishop Sampson had the misfortune, as will be seen presently, to fall under the royal suspicion and displeasure. Doctrinally he was by no means an advanced reformer, for he gave a hearty support to the six articles passed by Parliament on June 28, 1539. By these articles it was declared, 'That in the sacrament of the altar there

remained no substance of bread and wine; that communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons; that priests might not marry by the law of God; that vows of chastity ought to be observed by God's law; that the use of private masses ought to be continued; and that auricular confession was expedient and necessary.' These articles were carried during a temporary depression of the party of Cromwell and Cranmer, but with the full assent of the king. In a letter written shortly after, seemingly by a member of the House of Lords, it is stated that,

'Notwithstanding my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Ely, my lord of Salisbury, my lord of Worcester, Rochester, and St. Davyd's, defended the contrary long time, yet finally his highness confounded them all with God's learning. Yorke, Durham, Winchester, London, *Chichester*, Norwiche and Carlile, have shewed themselves honest and well-learned men. We of the temporality have been all of one opinion, and my lord Chancellor and my Lord Privy Seal as good as we can devise. My Lord of Canterbury and all these bishops have given their opinion and came into us, save Salisburie, who yet continueth a lewd fool.'[1]

The part taken by Sampson in reference to these articles may account for the trouble into which he soon afterwards fell. Cromwell had still some power, though his influence with the king was on the wane, and would not regard with favour a bishop who had helped to get the six articles passed—a great triumph for his rival the duke of Norfolk and his party. Cromwell was therefore not averse to make the most of a sinister report brought to him by some enemies of the bishop, that, in a sermon preached in Chichester cathedral on the Feast of the Assumption (August 15), he had not only advocated Romish doctrines, but papal authority. Sampson was

[1] Burnet, vol. vi. p. 233.

alarmed, and wrote an earnest vindication, dated September 3, London, to Cromwell of his fidelity alike to the doctrines of the church of England as he understood them and to the authority of the king. He begins by complaining that, as he has been informed, Cromwell used grievous words against him openly, and some of them touching his honesty; and begs that if he has offended he may be told plainly what his offence is, that he may amend or recompense it to his power.

'And,' he proceeds, 'os concerning mine own preaching *I* will not otherwise teach, God willing, than may be to the health of the hearers, and plesure first, I should have said, *to* God. If there have been ony sinister report of the little sermon that I had at Chichester upon our Ladies' day, the Assumption, I shal gladly answer to it. I suppose in my little mind I spake nothing but that, if ye had been present, ye would have been very wel content with it. And os concerning ony other man's preaching that is of my dioces, if I shal know his evil preaching I shal endeavour me to reform him, or else to bring forth his fault that it may be corrected in example of others. My good lord, I shal use no fawning or dissimulation, I assure you, in these things. And where I have been partly negligent in not resorting to my diocese so oft as I might and ought to do, my Lord, I shal so use myself in that thing as I trust shal be to the plesure of God, and the king's and to my lords' and friends' contentation.' He confesses that he is not 'very friendly to novelties, except necessity or a great expedient cause require it. But os touching the worshipping of images, setting up of candles before them, or kneeling, I assure you I trust ye shal hear shortly in my poor dioces that they shal know their former fault and leave it. It was one part of my sermon at Chichester, upon the Feast of the Assumption, and I shall also now send one to Rye and those parties.'

With regard to his supposed leanings to Rome, he observes that Cromwell very well knew 'no man was more in obloquy among his friends beyond the sea,' alluding no

doubt to the book which he had written in defence of the royal supremacy, and he 'durst adventure his life that he was no more a papist than any man in England or Germany.'[1]

Whether Cromwell did, as the bishop earnestly begged, enquire into the truth of the reports against him, and was dissatisfied with the result of his enquiry, or whether he found Sampson obnoxious to his interest in other ways of which we possess no record, certain it is that, in the close of the year 1539 or early in the year 1540, the bishop of Chichester was sent to the Tower, and there continued until Cromwell's fall and execution in the summer of the same year.

During the Parliament which met in the spring of 1540 several persons in prison for religion were set at liberty on bail. Bishop Sampson, however, was not released, simply because, in the exercise of that Christian charity which knows no distinctions of race, creed, or party, he had sent relief to a person named Abel, who, being confined for denying the king's supremacy, was in the greatest extremity of want and misery in prison, where, it was said, he was almost 'eat up by vermin.'[2]

Notwithstanding his confinement in the Tower, however, Sampson was put on a committee with the bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Worcester, and Llandaff, to examine what ceremonies should be retained and what was the true use of them. It was probably with reference to the conservative line taken by this committee that, on June 3, Sampson wrote a letter to Cromwell from the Tower.

'My special good lord. This morning hath been with me Dr. Petre and Mr. Bellows, by your good lordship's com-

[1] Strype's *Memorials*, vol. i.

[2] Burnet, iii. 265.

mandment; and they have signified unto me that my Lord of Durham (Tunstall) denyeth that he hath comported me to lean and stick to the old usages and traditions of the church. The which I have mervail that he wil do, it hath been so many and oftentimes specially, os I have seyd, in the time of the late bishop of London (Stokesley), when we were busied with the Germans and also with the book.' He goes on to say that Tunstall had an old book in Greek, 'containing divers things of the old usages and traditions of the old church, the which divers times he carried with him to Lambeth, and os I went with him in his barge he would tel me of divers places there written for that purpose, and of divers things then used and ordained by the Greek church, which were then in controversy . . . . the late bishop of London also brought other books of Greek, and so they conferred together their books.'

The drift of the letter is that he and the bishops of Durham and London (Tunstall and Stokesley) had concluded that as many of the old usages and traditions should be preserved as were consistent with the faith and practice of the primitive church, and for this purpose they were very diligent to search St. Augustine and various Greek books, more especially the old canons, 'as wel such as were called *Canones Apostolorum* as others.'[1]

This letter was written on the eve of Cromwell's fall: in less than a week he was suddenly accused at the Council Board of high treason by the duke of Norfolk, arrested, and confined in the same state prison in which Sampson and so many more had been by him confined. The queen, Anne of Cleves, was divorced on July 24, and on the 28th Cromwell was beheaded; the more advanced reformers were for a time completely checked, and Cranmer himself was thought to be in great jeopardy. Bishop Sampson was released, and occupied the see for two years more; two years of as rapid change as any

[1] Strype's *Memorials*, i. 258.

in the strange whirligig of events which agitated the reign of Henry. He saw the Bible set up in English by royal order throughout the kingdom. He saw the king's violent love for his new queen, Catherine Howard, turn to as violent hatred when he discovered, through information supplied by Cranmer, that she had led a licentious life before her marriage. Catherine's head was soon laid low upon the block, and Cranmer could once more lift his own high at court. In the Parliament of 1543, Sampson, with the bishops of Worcester, Hereford, and Rochester, faintly seconded Cranmer in pushing his Act for the 'advancement of true religion and abolishment of the contrary,' by which the prosecution of persons for ecclesiastical offences was retarded in manner of proceeding and ameliorated in its effects.[1] In May of the same year he was translated to the see of Coventry and Lichfield, vacant by the death of Roland Lee. In this position he remained true to his old conservative principles, for he dissented with four other bishops (among whom was his successor Daye) from the Act passed by Parliament in 1550 for the destruction of all the old service books.[2] He had been already removed from the office of lord president of the Welsh marches conferred upon him with his bishopric; and spent the remainder of his life in retirement at Eccleshall, Staffordshire, where he died in September 1554.

George Daye. 1543–1552.—The successor of Bishop Sampson was supposed, at the time of his appointment, to be a moderate man and inclinable to the Reformation.[3] This supposition, however, was not made good by his subsequent conduct, and he proved less pliable to the will of the secular powers than his predecessor.

George Daye was the third son of Richard Daye, of

[1] Burnet, i. 507. [2] *Ib.* ii. 250. [3] *Ib.* i. 525.

Newport, in Shropshire, and was educated at Eton, whence he was sent up to Cambridge. He became fellow of St. John's in 1522, and provost of King's in 1537. In the same year he was made vicar of All Hallows the Great, London, and in the following year vice-chancellor of Cambridge. He had been one of the committee of twenty-nine appointed by the vice-chancellor in 1530 to consider the question of the king's divorce from Katharine, and, we may presume, assented to the decision that the marriage was against the law of God. To the royal supremacy as limited by the saving clauses 'under God,' or 'after Christ upon earth,' he may have been favourable, but in doctrine his sympathies were mainly Roman, so that, like many others of his time, he was a papist, only without the pope. He was one of the divines appointed in 1540 to compile the book called 'The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man.' The most vital question dealt with in this book was that of the sacraments, and the method adopted for arriving at conclusions upon it was to draw up a certain number of crucial queries, which were given out to the several members of the committee, and at an appointed time each brought his opinion in writing. In his answers to these questions Daye asserts that there were many more sacraments than seven in Scripture and in the ancient doctors; that many more things may be designated sacraments than the seven, sacrament being equivalent in meaning to a 'secret thing,' *res occulta*, or *μυστήριον*; but that the seven were grounded in Scripture and taught by the old fathers was a 'doctrine meet to be taught.' Confirmation with oil he held not to be scriptural, but justifiable as a practice of the primitive church. The apostles ordained bishops by authority from God, and appointment of bishops was not sufficient without consecration. A bishop or

priest might excommunicate for manifest or open crimes. He who knew himself guilty of any secret deadly sin must, to obtain absolution, confess the same to a priest; and absolution by a priest was necessary. The more moderate men, with Cranmer, were content with saying, 'the surest way where he may be had.'[1]

The book, which was set forth with the intention, as announced by Cromwell in Convocation, of settling the dissensions, both as to faith and practice, caused by the 'rashness and licentiousness of some, and the inveterate superstition and stiffness of others in ancient corruptions,' did not succeed in its object. Neither party was satisfied, while there was just enough encouragement in the book given to both to make each hope for more. It came out on May 29, 1543, and, on the 6th of the same month, Daye had been consecrated bishop of Chichester. He was enthroned by proxy.

After the fall of Cromwell, the repudiation of Anne of Cleves, and the alliance of the king with Catherine Howard and the Norfolk party, the more advanced reformers were held in check, and Bishop Daye's principles were not put to any severe test.

Daye continued almoner to Anne of Cleves after her divorce, and chaplain also to the king. Together with Heath, bishop of Worcester, he consented to the letter which Cranmer addressed to the king in January 1545, praying him to issue a royal prohibition of the superstitious practices of ringing bells during All-Hallows' night, the veiling of images in Lent, the unveiling of the cross on Palm Sunday, and 'creeping to the same on bare knees.'[2]

This probably represents the extent to which men like Daye and Heath cared to go. Doctrinally they

[1] Burnet, iv. 444–465.

[2] *Ib.* v. 354, 355.

adhered to Rome, though they were willing to pare away some of the extravagancies of mediæval ceremonial.

But with the death of Henry VIII. difficult times set in for such prelates. Under the earl of Hertford, the regent, afterwards duke of Somerset,—who was prompted alike by his sympathies and interests to place himself at the head of the more advanced Protestants—sweeping measures of reform followed thick and fast, and against nearly all of them Bishop Daye protested.

In the Parliament of 1547, he dissented from the Acts for repealing the former severe laws against heretics, especially against Lollards, for repealing the six Articles, for the reception of the holy communion in both kinds, and for giving the chantries to the king. He also dissented from the Act allowing priests to marry, which passed November 1548; from that which enjoined the use of the Book of Common Prayer, January 15, 1549; and another for the destruction of the old service books, December 1550.[1]

Several of the letters from the Privy Council in the king's name, ordering obedience to these and other Acts, are copied into Daye's register. They are too long for transcription, and many of them may be read elsewhere in print; but a short review of their contents will be interesting as throwing light upon the position not only of our bishop and see, but of the church in those critical times, and of the rapid changes which were going on.

An order of Council, dated February 21, 1547, addressed to the archbishop, and to be forwarded through the bishop of London to all suffragans, directs the primate that, 'Immediately upon syght hereof, with as convenient dylygence as you maye, you shall gyve order that all the ymagies remaining in any church or

[1] Burnet, ii. 92, 94, 101, 168, 176, 250.

chapel within your diocese be removed and taken away, but also by your letters signify unto the rest of the bishops within your province his highness's pleasure for the like order to be given by them.'

In the autumn of 1547 visitors, charged with a commission of inquiry into the state of the Church, and furnished with injunctions and articles, were sent to all the dioceses of England, which were divided into six circuits. The letter in Daye's register announcing the proposed coming of the 'venerable commissioners,' John Mason, James Hales, Anthony Coxe, Francis Cave, L.D., and Simon Brygge, D.D., for the dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, Chichester, and Winchester, is dated August 23. The whole of the cathedral body at Chichester, with the bishop, is cited to appear before them on September 30, between eight and nine of the morning, in the chapter house, to exhibit all deeds of foundation, registers, and documents of every kind. Provosts of colleges, rectors, schoolmasters, curates, and four or six laymen from each parish, were to present themselves at such places and times as should be afterwards specified. During the visitation neither archbishop nor bishop were to exercise any jurisdiction; the bishops were not to preach anywhere but in their cathedrals, and no clergyman should preach anywhere but in his collegiate or parochial church, except by a special licence from the king.

The injunctions brought by the commissioners were intended to put a finishing stroke to the suppression of superstitious usages, and to the establishment of a more sober system of religious life and worship. The clergy were ordered to take down such images as they knew were abused by pilgrimages or offerings made to them; at high mass the Epistle and Gospel were to be read in English, and every Sunday and holy day a chapter from the Old

and New Testament was to be read in English, the one at matins, the other at evensong. Holy days were to be kept as holy, not spent in licentious festivity. The people were to be taught not to despise any ceremonies still retained, but to beware of the superstition of sprinkling their beds with holy water, or ringing of bells, or using of blessed candles for driving away devils. The Homilies were to be read, the Primer of King Henry to be used; the prime and the hours to be omitted where there was a sermon or homily.

One consequence of the discouragement of the old ceremonials was that needy or avaricious clergy sold many of the vessels and ornaments of the Church. This kind of traffic, however, the Council denounced in others, while they reserved it for themselves. There is a letter addressed to Bishop Daye on the subject by the Council, dated October 17, 1547, stating that it had been brought to their knowledge that 'sondry persons upon some pretence or rather their own rashness have now lately attemptyd in sondraye places of the realme to make sale of the ornamentys of the plate, jewells, and bells of sondraye churches;' they had therefore thought good to require the bishop that, 'onless the king's majestie's commissioners for the visitation have alredy taken order therein, ye cause dew sirche to be made by your ministers what hath been takyn awaye, solde, or alienatyd out of any church or chapel of your diocese, and to what uses the moneye comying thereupon hath been employed and by whom used; taking speciall note of their names who have made the same awaye, and of the value of the thyngs.' The bishop is to signify what he has done therein, 'whereuppon suche further ordre shal be takyn as shal be expedyent.'

In the winter of 1548 Daye was placed on the com-

mittee of bishops and divines appointed for the examination and reformation of all the offices of the Church, which was a preliminary step to the introduction of a new Liturgy.[1]

On some of the most important questions, especially that of the Holy Eucharist, considered by the committee, six bishops expressed their judgment in the same language. These were Bonner bishop of London, Heath of Worcester, Rugg of Norwich, Daye of Chichester, Skiff of Hereford, and Wharton of St. Asaph. They declared that they held the sacrifice of Christ in the mass to be the presentation of the very body and blood of Christ, being really present in the sacrament, which presentation the priest makyth, at the mass in the nave of the church, unto God in memory of Christ's passion and death upon the cross, that all Christian people, who spiritually join with the priest in the said oblation, may attain the benefit of the said passion. They thought the custom of the priest receiving alone had arisen when devotion was so much decayed that the people would not come to receive; that it was desirable that some should receive at every celebration, but if none would come then the priest might receive alone; that it was not necessary to have a sermon at every mass, but a commendable practice; that it was better to have the mass in Latin lest the mysteries should be profaned, but well to have some prayers in English.[2]

When the Act for the confirmation of the new Liturgy was passed, January 15, 1549, Daye and all the other above-named bishops except Wharton of St. Asaph dissented from it, as well as Tunstall, the bishop of Durham, Aldrich of Carlisle, the earl of Derby, and the lords Dacres and Windsor. Although the new Book

[1] Burnet, ii. 127.

[2] *Ib.* v. 197–215.

of Common Prayer was on the whole well received by the clergy, it was not acceptable to large numbers of the people, who still clung to the forms to which they had been accustomed from their youth. The bishop of Chichester probably connived easily enough at departures from the new Liturgy against which he had protested, and the letter from the Council, contained in his register,[1] which was sent to him and all the bishops, strictly forbidding any recurrence to abrogated forms of worship, must have made the fetters gall upon him. It is dated December 26, the third year of Edward VI., and states that,

'Whereas the boke intituled the Book of Comyn Prayer, &c., was agreed upon and sett fourth by acte of Parliament, and commandyd to be usyd of all persons within this our realme; yet nevertheless, divers unquyet and evil disposed persons sithence the apprehension of the Duke of Somerset[2] have noysed and bruted abrode that they shulde have agayn theyre old Latin Service, their conjured brede and water, with suche lyke vayne and supersticious ceremonies, as though the setting forth of the same boke had been th' only acte of the afore namyd Deuke;' therefore, the letter proceeds to say, 'that the people are to be taught to put such vain expectations out of their heads, and the bishop is to command the dean and prebendaries of his cathedral churche, the parson, vicar or curate, and churchwardens of every parish within his diocese, to deliver to him or his deputy, at some appointed place, all antiphonals, myssalls, grayles, processionalls, manuels, legends, pies, portasies, journalls and ordinalls, after the use of Sarum churche, Yorke, Bangor, Hereford, or any other pryvate use . . . . and that you take the saide bokes into your hand, or into the hande of your depute, and them so deface and abolyshe that they never after may serve to any suche use as they were fyrst provyded for, or be at any time a lett to that godly and uniform ordre which, by a comyn consent ys now

[1] P. 47.

[2] On various charges of injury to the public weal; sent to the Tower Oct. 1549 released Feb. 1550, after paying a heavy fine.

sett forth.' Further, the bishop is to seek out such 'froward and obstinate persons as will not pay towarde the fyndyng of brede and wyne for ye Holy Communyon, accordyng to the ordre prescribed in the saide boke, by reason whereof the Holy Communyn is many times omytted upon the Sondaye.' The bishop was to admonish such persons, and if they were contumacious to punish by excommunication or otherwise censure of the Church. 'Fayll ye not thys to do, as ye will avoyde our displeasure.'

The document is signed by Cranmer, Ryche the chancellor, William Seint John, J. Russell, H. Dorsett, W. Northampton.

This order of Council was followed up by an Act of Parliament to the same effect. Daye is again among the dissentients, together with his old companions in opposition and some new ones, lord Derby, the bishop of Durham, the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (Sampson, Daye's predecessor), of Carlisle, Worcester, and Westminster, besides the lords Morley, Stourton, Windsor, and Wharton. The Act was more stringent than the order, for, in addition to the destruction of the Service Books, it required that all images which had been used in any church or chapel should be defaced before the last day of June; and in all the Primers set forth by King Henry the prayers to saints were to be struck out.[1]

It is more than probable that Daye was, to say the least, slack and backward in enforcing these distasteful requisitions. It seems, however, to have been the policy of him and his party as wise men, after they had made their protest, but in vain, to comply as far as they conscientiously could with commands which they disliked. In the spring of 1550 Daye even attempted to preach such doctrine as was acceptable at Court on the subject

[1] Burnet, ii. 250.

of the Holy Eucharist. Under the date of April 4 King Edward, in his journal, writes, 'The bishop of Chichestre, before a vehement affirmer of transubstantiation, did preach against it at Whestmuster, in the preaching place.'

But, whatever may have been thought of his sermon at Westminster, the Council was very ill-pleased with the tidings which reached it of his preaching in his own diocese. His discourses were considered calculated to raise discontent and tumult among the people, and on October 7 Dr. Cox, the king's almoner, was ordered to go into Sussex to calm the minds of the bishop's flock, and counteract, if possible, the seditious tendency of his preaching. On November 8, to quote the Council Book, the 'bishop of Chichester appeared before the Council to answer to the things objected against him for preaching. And because he denied the words of his accusation, therefore he was commanded within two days to bring in writing what he preached.' On November 11 the archbishop of Canterbury was sent for by the Council to examine the said discourses. The bishop felt that he was now being hunted down, his powers of compliance and forbearance were exhausted, and one more act of the Council brought him to bay. Towards the end of November, to cite an entry in King Edward's journal again, for the 19th of that month, 'there were letters sent to every bishop to pluck down the altars,' and, in the words of the letter itself, 'in the lieu of them to set up a table in some convenient place of the chancel within every church or chapel to serve for the ministration of the blessed communion.'

On November 30 the duke of Somerset declared to the Council that the bishop of Chichester had come to him two days ago, and having showed him the letter which he had just received, said 'he could not conform

his conscience to do what he was, by the said letter, commanded, and therefore prayed the said duke he might be excused; whereunto said duke for answer used divers reasons moving the said bishop to do his duty, *and in such things to make no conscience* where no need is. Nevertheless the said bishop would not be removed from his former opinion, and therefore the said duke said he would make report to the rest of the Council; and so in the end he prayed the lords of the Council this day that the bishop might be sent for and show his mind touching his cause, which was agreed, and commandment given for the bishop to be here to-morrow.' Accordingly, on December 1, Daye appeared. He declared that he could not 'conform his conscience' to the letter, 'for that he seemed for his opinion to have the Scripture and consent of the doctors and fathers of the Church, and contrariwise he did not perceive any strength in the six reasons set forth by the bishop of London (Ridley) to persuade the taking down altars and erection of tables.' He was asked to give Scriptural authority for his opinion, and cited Isaiah xix. 19—not, it must be allowed, a very cogent passage. Cranmer, Ridley, Goodrich bishop of Ely, and others reasoned with him, and the discussion ended in his being permitted two days to consider his answer, during which he was to confer with the primate, the bishop of London or of Ely.

On December 4 he came before the Council again, and was asked if he had been with the primate or the other bishops. He replied that he had gone one afternoon to Lambeth to have waited on the archbishop, but was told he was at Court; 'and upon a demand what time his grace would come home one of the chamberlains answered, that he doubted it would be late ere his grace came home because he so used. Therefore he tarried

not. And to the other bishops he made no repair;' saying further, 'he had not been well in health, for the which cause he took some physic yesterday.' The archbishop, on the other hand, said he had come home early on purpose to see Chichester had Chichester tarried to see him. Respecting the question of obedience to the letter he gave the same answer as before, and fortified his opinion by his old arguments, introducing the well-known passage in the Hebrews xiii. 10, 'We have an altar,' &c., in addition to the text from Isaiah. The Council now solemnly charged him in the king's name to become an obedient subject and so to execute the king's commandment. They wished to deal leniently with him, and would give him till Sunday next, the 7th, to consider his final answer.

On the 7th Daye appeared and said he could not do the thing required 'saving his conscience, for the altars seemed to him anciently established by the agreement of the holy fathers, and confirmed by ancient doctors, with the custom also of a number of years, and as he thought according to Scripture.' He was 'determined to lose all that ever he had rather than to condemn his own conscience.' Even now, however, the Council shrank from going to extremities, and yet two days more respite were given him wherein to 'advise himself;' and, on the 9th, he appeared again for the last time, when 'he thanked both the king's highness and the Council for their great clemency used towards him, but he said he could not by any means persuade himself to do that thing that was against his conscience. Wherefore he prayed them to do with him what they thought requisite, for he would never obey to do the thing that his conscience would not bear.'

By an order of the whole Council he was now com-

mitted to the Fleet Prison till further orders should be taken concerning him.[1]

Under the date of January 17, 1551, there is an entry, in Daye's register, of institutions and other formal business for the diocese discharged by Worthyall, archdeacon of Chichester, vicar *in spiritualibus* of the province of Canterbury, 'the episcopal see of Chichester being vacant on account of the deprivation and deposition of George Daye, lately bishop thereof.'[2] He was not, however, formally deprived till the following autumn.

Meanwhile the clergy in the diocese seem, from the letter of the Council extracted from Daye's register, to have shared the reluctance of their bishop to put the Act in execution :—

To the Chancellor of the Diocese of Chycestre. 'Trusty and wel beloved, we grete yow wel. We lete yow wyte that notwithstanding our commandyment heretofore pass'd generally into all partes of thys oure realme, for the takynge downe of aulters in every churche or chapell, as well in places exempted as not exempted, and in lyeu thereof for settinge up a table in some convenyent place of the chancell to serve for the administracion of the blessed communyon, it is of late comyd to oure knowledge that their do yett remayne (in whomsoever the faulte may bee) aulters standyng in sondraye churches withyn that diocese of Chichestre, whereof like as we cannot but mervayle, considerynge our former orders as ye aforeseid grounded upon good and godlye consideracions, and do thynke you not altogether faultless: so have wee thought good by thys to requyre yow, and nevertheless straitly to charge and command yow forthwith upon receipt hereof to take such substantiall ordre throughout all the diocise as all manner aulters be with dylygence takeyn downe, and yn their places tables sett up, ac-

[1] Burnet, iii. 341, 342, and Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 325–329.

[2] 'Sede episcopali Cicestrensi propter privationem et depositionem dom. Georg. Daye nuper Episc. ibidem jam vacante.'

cordyng to our former commandyment and as is alredy executed in all partes throughout our realme.'

The government lost no possible occasion of using exhortation, as well as force, to induce the people to use the Book of Common Prayer. One of these opportunities was a severe outbreak of the sweating sickness in the summer of 1551. The duke of Suffolk and his brother Charles fell victims to it, and 800 people died of it in London in one week. There are some entries in King Edward's journal for July which bring it before us with fearful vividness. 'It was more vehement than the old sweat, for if one took cold he died within three hours, and if he escaped it held him but nine hours, or ten at the most; also, if he slept the first six hours, as he should be very desirous to do, then he raved and should die raving.' And again, July 11: 'It grew so much that in London the 10th day there died 70 in the Liberties, and this day 120, and also one of my gentlemen; another of my grooms fell sick and died, that I removed to Ampton Court with very few with me.'

There is a letter in Daye's register, in the king's name, from the Council at Hampton Court, dated July 18, and addressed to his 'trustye and wel-beloved the chancellour of the bishoppricke of Chycester' which begins by remarking that God had sent

'Plague after plague, being provoked by the wickedness of the people, tyll at length he hath throwen fourth this most extreme plague of sudden death.' And since there is no other way 'to pacyfie hys furie and recover hys mercy but by prayer and amendment of lyves,' the chancellor is to take means 'through the whole diocise to persuade the people to resorte more dilygently unto the boke of Commyn Prayer than they have done; not only to praye with all their heartes but also to give a better regarde unto their learning, and especially to

refrain their gredy appetite from that insatiable serpent of covetousness.' There seems to be an allusion to the delinquencies of the bishop in the conclusion. 'As the bodye and members of a dull or a syke head can not be lustie or apt to do well, so the chiefest mynisters as well as the smallest have been so dull and feeble in discharging of their duties that it ys no mervaille though theyr flocke wander, not knowying the voyse of their shephard, much less the voyse of their principall and sovereigne.'

Bishop Daye and his episcopal brother, Heath of Worcester, remained in the Fleet without any further consideration of their case till September 27, 1551. A commission was then appointed to try them, consisting of three lawyers and three civilians, the result of which was that both bishops were formally deprived, or, as King Edward expresses it in his journal, 'deposed for contempts,' and, on October 24, the Chancellor of the Augmentations was directed to take immediate order for seizure of the temporalities. The bishops were confined in the Fleet up to the following summer, when, for the sake of their health, they asked to be removed to a place where they might enjoy more freedom and purer air. This was granted; and on June 15, 1552, Daye was committed to the care of Goodrich bishop of Ely and lord chancellor; and Heath to Ridley the bishop of London, who were instructed to 'use them as to Christian charity should be most seemly. At whose hands the king doubted not but they should receive such Christian advice as would tend to the glory of God.'[1] During his confinement in the house of the bishop of Ely, Cecil had several interviews with him, in the hope of bringing him to some such promise of submission as might justify his release, but Daye said he could only repeat what he had

[1] *Council Book*, p. 575.

said to the commissioners that, 'he sticked not at the form, situation, or the matter, stone or wood, of the altar; these things he considered indifferent; but the commandment to take down all altars and put a table instead seemed to him a plain abolishment of the altar, both the name and thing, and he could not consent to it. If released he would pray for the king's most excellent majesty, the honourable council, and his deliverers; but if his liberty must be bought with a new conflict and hazard of conscience, he thought it better to want it than to purchase so poor a commodity at so great a price.'[1] Here, then, for the present we must leave Bishop Daye; and beyond a certain restraint upon his liberty we may suppose that his position in the house of the chancellor, his brother of Ely, was not uncomfortable, and resembled that of a guest rather than of a prisoner.

John Scory, 1552–1554.—The government naturally sought to fill Daye's see with a man of whose sympathy with the Reformation there could be no question, and such they found in John Scory, who had been made bishop of Rochester in April 1551. He had been originally a monk, but had repudiated his vows and married a wife. He had been made one of the first of the six preachers established at Canterbury when the cathedral was remodelled in the reign of the late king, and had preached at the burning of poor Joan Bocher, the fanatical Anabaptist maiden, in Kent. It is worth mentioning this fact, because it is not always remembered that the Reformers burned those whom they regarded as heretics quite as freely as Papists burned Reformers.

Scory was enthroned by deputy on July 29, 1552, John Worthyall, chancellor of the diocese of Chichester

[1] Strype's *Memorials*, ii.

and vicar-general for the province of Canterbury, acting as his commissary. In the royal mandate, copied into his register (p. 69), he is said to be 'rite et legitime nominatus et translatus per illustrissimum in Christo principem in ecclesiam cathedralem Cicestrensem per privationem et destitutionem Georgii Daye vacantem.' Nothing worthy of record seems to have occurred during his administration of our diocese, which lasted two years.

On the accession of Queen Mary the tables were turned. Deprived bishops were restored, some of the existing bishops fled, others remained to be put to death. Scory at first thought he might purchase safety by separation from his wife. He even consented to do penance for his marriage before Bonner, now bishop of London, and was thereupon licensed by him to discharge clerical duties in the diocese of London;[1] but he soon rejoined his wife, and retired with her to Wesel in Friesland, where he lived till the accession of Elizabeth, when he returned to be made bishop of Hereford in 1559; and assisted Barlow, then bishop elect of Chichester, and Miles Coverdale, ex-bishop of Exeter, in the consecration of Matthew Parker to the primacy.

Daye was restored immediately after the accession of Mary. He preached at the funeral of Edward VI., August 1553, and in his sermon commended and excused the king, though he loaded his government severely, but he performed the funeral rites in English, and administered the Holy Communion to those present. His sermon on this occasion must have given much satisfaction, as he was appointed to preach again at the coronation of the Queen in the following September.[2]

In March 1554, he was placed on two commissions

[1] Bonner's *Regist.* fol. 347.

[2] Burnet, ii. 393.

with Tunstall bishop of Durham, Bonner of London, Kitchin of Llandaff, and Wharton of St. Asaph, by which three bishops were deprived for preaching, teaching, and setting forth of erroneous doctrine—Taylor of Lincoln, Hooper of Worcester, Harley of Hereford; and four for divers offences, and more especially for contracting marriages, namely, Holgate archbishop of York, Ferrar of St. David's, Bird of Chester, and Bush of Bristol.[1]

It is noticeable that in the mandate for these commissions Mary is styled 'supreme head of the Church;' and, in like manner, in a writ of summons to Convocation, for October 6, 1553, of which there is a copy in Daye's register,[2] the same title is retained, though it is afterwards dropped. She certainly exercised her supremacy with thorough Tudor rigour, though a little semblance of liberty was granted where her wishes were not likely to be seriously thwarted.

In Daye's register, under the date of August 16, 1553, there is a copy of the queen's *congé d'élire* for filling up the office of dean, vacant by the 'free resignation or dimission' of the late dean, in which she desires that the election be made by the chapter according to 'your ancient rights and liberties which you used to have untill the same of laat daies hath been interrupted.'[3] The chapter, very probably under the influence of the bishop and of fear, elected William Pye, a staunch opponent of Reformation doctrine, who helped to worry and puzzle poor Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, when he spoke in the Convocation of 1553 against transubstantiation.[4]

That Bishop Daye condemned Protestants to be burned and presided at their execution, there can be no question.

[1] ii. 440; v. 386, 388. [2] P. 82. [3] P. 84.
[4] Burnet, ii. 426. Philpot was burned at Smithfield, Dec. 18, 1556.

In the corporation annals at Lewes there is a memorandum that Derrick Carver of Brighton was burned for heresy in 1555, and in June 1556 four more persons of low degree. The sentence also of George Daye against J. Mylle of Hellingley, T. Attoke, and Anne Attree of Est Grinsted, may be read in MSS. Harleian 421.53. The reader must be again reminded, however, that such acts did not imply cruelty in a bishop of that day, who might be as personally amiable and merciful as the judge who, in the present day, passes sentence of death on a murderer. There was no conception in that age of the justice or expediency of tolerating a variety and diversity of religious opinions. Papist and Protestant alike agreed that heresy was a crime, and to be punished as a crime; they only differed as to what heresy was. The heretic was a disturber of temporal peace, perhaps a destroyer of the everlasting peace of men's souls; and thus, as a two-fold offender against the common weal, he was to be put to death without scruple, though not without pity. Bishop Daye visited Gardiner on his death-bed in November 1553, and heard his oft repeated penitential cry, 'erravi cum Petro sed non flevi cum Petro,' and in the following summer Daye himself was no more. He died in London, August 10, and is buried on the south side of the presbytery in Chichester cathedral. His will is dated July 28, 1556. To the library of St. John's, Cambridge, he bequeathed his Complutensian Bible, and a rich cope and vestment for the chapel. To King's College he bequeathed a copy of the works of St. Chrysostom and Clemens Alexandrinus in Greek; and to his successor in the see of Chichester his crosier and mitre, garnished and set with pearls; besides plate, vestments, and money to the cathedral.

John Christopherson, 1557–1558.—Daye's successor,

was, as might be expected, an uncompromising Romanist; but not, as Fuller and other vehement and uncritical protestant writers would represent him, a merciless monster. The language of Fuller concerning him is a curious specimen of his style, and of zeal untempered by discretion. 'He had not so much mercy as Nero to begin courteously, having no sooner put on his episcopal ring than but presently he washed his hands in the blood of poor martyrs. Had he sat long in this see, there had needed no iron-mills to rarify the woods of the country. Though he carried so much of Christ in his name, he did bear nothing of him in his nature.'[1] After this fierce invective we find that the extent to which the woods of Sussex were thinned to supply fagots for burning heretics was for ten burned at Lewes in one fire, and seventeen others at several times in sundry places. Dreadful enough, certainly; but not more dreadful than the wholesale execution at the beginning of this century for small forgeries and thefts, and certainly not sufficient to prove more than that the judge did what he considered his duty. Cardinal Pole, now primate, was naturally inclined to clemency, and at first was tolerant to an extent which brought his reputation for orthodoxy under suspicion. To save it he was now encouraging prosecution for heresy. He was mild in theory but severe in practice, as Gardiner was severe in theory but mild in action.[2]

Christopherson was born at Ulveston. He was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; became fellow of St. John's in 1542, and master of Trinity in 1553. He was an excellent scholar and linguist, according to Fuller, who says, 'I have seen a Greek tragedy made and

[1] *Worthies*, sub verb. Christopherson, and Sussex Martyrs.

[2] Sectarian animosity has condemned Gardiner to infamy; yet during the year when he was at the height of his power (1553–54) not one person was burned for heresy.

written by his own hand so curiously that it seemed printed; and presented to King Henry VIII.'[1]

During the reign of Edward VI. he lived abroad, and employed himself by translating parts of the Greek ecclesiastical historians, but with little fidelity. On the accession of Mary he was made one of her confessors, and dean of Norwich in 1554. After the suppression of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion at the beginning of her reign he published a book entitled 'An Exhortation to all Menne to Take Hede and beware of Rebellion: wherein are sett forth the causes that commonly move men to rebellion, and that no cause is there that ought to move any man thereunto; with a discourse of the miserable effects that ensue thereof, and of the wretched endes that all rebelles come to; most necessary to be redde in this sedicious and troublesome tyme.'[2]

Christopherson was not consecrated and enthroned for a year after his election; but I have not discovered the reason of this delay.

During part of this interval he was occupied as one of the commissioners for the visitation of the University of Cambridge in company with Scot, bishop of Chester, Ormaneto, an Italian friend of Cardinal Pole, Watson, bishop elect of Lincoln, and Cole, dean of St. Paul's. The visitors were employed a long time in examining the heresies of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, who were buried in Cambridge; the end of which was that the bodies of those eminent reformers were exhumed and solemnly burned after the silly fashion of that age.

Christopherson himself, however, came under the visitors' hands, having been head-master of Trinity College, and did not escape without censure. It was discovered that he had let some of the college lands to his brother,

[1] *Worthies.* [2] Burnet, ii. 234.

and Ormaneto tore up the lease. Other complaints also of mismanagement were brought against him. This disgrace perhaps affected his health, as, two days after the visitation of Trinity College, during Bishop Watson's sermon in King's College Chapel, we read in the quaint diary of John Mere the registrar, Christopherson 'being stricken with a sodayne sicknesse fell down in a swound among the prease, and wyth much ado, being scarce able a good while to come to himself agayne, in the meane time babbled many things unadvisedly and as though he had bene out of his wittes.' On February 5 again he had 'a sore fytt, and cryed out "I am deade" with lyke frontyke words.' Christopherson was enthroned by proxy, November 5, 1557, Thomas Mandvyle, rector of Petworth, acting as his representative.[2]

The only record in the register of Christopherson which I have discovered worth noting, is one which concerns the remission by the queen to the clergy of the firstfruits and tenths of benefices, which in the reign of Henry VIII. had been paid to the crown. Out of these which were now restored to the clergy they were to pay all ecclesiastical pensions, annuities, and fees which had formerly been discharged by the crown; and 'where certayne byshopps shal not be able to paie the pensions and fees allotted to theyr charge, and dyverse other byshopps shal have remayning on their handes an overplus above theyr charge, yt is ordered that the overplus of those shal supply the wants of others as hereafter particularly followyth.'

Then follows a balance list.

The wants of Canterbury and Rochester were to be made up by the overplus of Sarum; the wants of London by the overplus of Norwich and Exeter; the wants of

[1] Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, ii. 128. [2] *Regist. Christoph.*

Ely, Lyncoln, Gloucester, and Oxforde, by the overplus of Peterborough; the wants of Worcester by the overplus of Hereford; the wants of Winton by the overplus of Chichester.

Christopherson quickly followed his queen and his primate to the grave. He died in London, and was buried in Christ Church 'with all popish ceremonies.' 'A great banner was carried with the arms of the See of Chichester and his own arms, and four banners of saints; and after, all retiring from the place of burial were entertained with a great dinner.'[1]

[1] Strype's *Memorials*. See also Machyn's *Diary*, p. 184, for those details in which that worthy undertaker delighted. Jewel had the most profound aversion to Christopherson. In a letter to Peter Martyr mentioning his death, he calls him 'rabulam illum cicestrensem.' Burnet, vi. 396.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL ANXIETY ABOUT THE CHURCH AT THE BEGINNING OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN—MORTALITY AMONG THE BISHOPS: VACANCIES FILLED UP—BISHOP BARLOW: HIS CAREER AS BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S AND BATH AND WELLS — ELIZABETH'S SPOLIATION OF EPISCOPAL PROPERTY — EXTRACTS FROM BARLOW'S REGISTER: HIS SHARE IN THE BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1568—RICHARD CURTEYS—A CHAPLAIN OF PARKER THE PRIMATE—DEAN OF CHICHESTER —BISHOP: HIS DILIGENCE: HOSPITALITY: POVERTY — THOMAS BICKLEY: FELLOW OF MAGDALEN: WARDEN OF MERTON—ANTONY WATSON: PRESENT AT THE QUEEN'S DEATH.

Bishops.	Accession, A.D.	Contemporary Sovereign.
William Barlow	1559	
Richard Curteys	1570	
Thomas Bickley	1586	Elizabeth.
Antony Watson	1596	

THE time of Elizabeth's accession to the throne was one of fearful suspense to all men interested in religion and in the fate of the National Church. What shape was that church to take? How were the conflicting elements to be adjusted or fused? What attitude would the queen take? Would the Reformers on the old lines of primitive doctrine and practice, or the disciples of continental protestants, or the papists obtain the royal favour, and gain the predominance; or would she try to work all these discordant materials into the same ecclesiastical system? For a time men knew not; the queen was an inscrutable person; they could only vaguely guess what

would be the character of their prelates, the nature of the doctrine they would be called upon to hear, of the ceremonial they would have to witness, nay even of the language in which the services would be conducted.

Whatever the queen's wishes or intentions might be, however, Providence had so ruled the issues of life and death, that great changes among the episcopal ranks were inevitable. A strange mortality thinned out the list of bishops who had been made in Mary's time. The deaths of the queen and of the primate Pole which almost coincided were either immediately preceded or followed by those of many bishops who had been consecrated, most of them only two or three years before; Hopton of Norwich, Christopherson of Chichester, Wharton of Hereford, Griffin of Rochester, Brooks of Gloucester, Glynn of Bangor, Holyman of Bristol. A few months sufficed to indicate how these vacancies were likely to be filled up, and that whatever the ultimate shape of the church might be, neither papists nor puritans could hope to obtain a decisive predominance. The queen might have the crucifix in her closet, she might attend mass, and delight in ceremonial display at church, as she certainly did in pageantry and pomp at court. She might set her face against the marriage of the clergy, but the mass was materially altered in character by the significant and vital omission to elevate the host; and the first priest whom she summoned to her councils on the matter of ecclesiastical policy, the first to whom she soon afterwards offered the highest ecclesiastical dignity in the land, was a married man, as well as a decided, though moderate, and conservative reformer—the learned, shy, retiring Matthew Parker. The royal supremacy was firmly asserted within its proper limits in the face of opposition from papists and puritans alike, the firstfruits and tenths restored to

the clergy by Mary were reclaimed by her sister, and to replenish the exhausted treasury she did not scruple to lay her hands upon the episcopal lands. In spite of the strenuous resistance of all the bishops, and of Parker himself, an Act was passed which enabled her, on the avoidance of any bishopric, to take into her hands any of the landed property of the see, for which the bishop was nominally recompensed and the clergy impoverished by a grant to him of a certain number of tithes and impropriate parsonages.

On the other hand, it was with difficulty that the queen was persuaded by Parker and Cecil to allow the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. rather than the first to be enjoined in the Act of Uniformity, as a peace offering to those reformers who were infected with the leaven of foreign protestantism. Nor was the oath of supremacy harshly pressed, and those prelates who declined to take it were deprived indeed, but courteously treated, being placed in honourable confinement, guests rather than prisoners, in the houses of their successors or of other conforming bishops.

Of the bishops who were deprived by Mary only three were living at the time of Elizabeth's accession. These were Scory, who was, as we have seen, turned out of Chichester, Miles Coverdale of Exeter, and William Barlow of Bath and Wells. These three, with the suffragan bishop of Bedford, were the consecrators of Matthew Parker, Barlow being selected to take the lead in the ceremony, and at that time he had been elected, though not installed, bishop of Chichester.[1]

Barlow appears consistently on the side of the reformation throughout his public career. He was of Welsh extraction, but was born in Essex, and received his

[1] Burnet, ii. 637. Hook's *Life of Parker*.

primary education in the monastery of Austin Canons, at St. Osyth, in that county. After completing his education at Oxford, where he was made D.D., he became a canon of the order at St. Osyth, and in 1527 we find him prior of Bisham Abbey, near Maidenhead, in Berkshire. But he had no liking for monastic life. When the dissolution of the monasteries was decreed Barlow not only willingly resigned his own house, but persuaded divers other abbots and priors to follow his example. Such a man was not likely to be lost sight of by Cromwell: he introduced Barlow to the king, who employed him in the public service, and remunerated him according to the usual custom by ecclesiastical preferment. In 1535 he was made, by the influence of Anne Boleyn, prior of Haverford West, in Pembrokeshire.[1] It answered the king's purpose very well to reserve a few of the monastic houses for such men. They supplied the necessary provision for a public servant who would be ready at any time on the requisition of his master to surrender it into his hands. Barlow was mightily disliked by the bishop and clergy of St. David's. In a letter to Cromwell[2] he complains bitterly of the persecution to which he was subjected, especially from the bishop and the Black Friar of Haverford West; and he gives a lamentable account of the condition of the diocese. Among a multitude of priors, monks, canons, and secular priests, there was not one that sincerely preacheth God's word, nor scarce any that heartily favoureth it.' He hints at 'enormous vices, fraudulent exactions, misordered living, heathen idolatry.' He 'endeavoured himself, with no small amount of bodily danger, against antichrist and all his confederate adherents sincerely to preach the gospel of Christ;' and this was the cause of the animosity with

[1] Wood, *Athen.* Oxon. Burnet, i. 375, iii. 204. [2] Burnet, vi. 131.

which he was pursued. He did not tarry long, however, to be persecuted at Haverford West, for early in 1536 he was sent by the king, with Lord Robert Howard, into Scotland on a mission 'to amend, if possible, the disordered state of the border.' In a letter from Henry VIII. to James V. the king describes Barlow as 'his well beloved counsellor sufficiently instructed in the specialities of certain weighty cases.' About the same time, January 7, 1536, he was elected, by authority of a *congè délire*, bishop of St. Asaph; but before he could return from Scotland for his consecration, Rawlins, bishop of St. David's, died, and Barlow was translated to that more lucrative bishopric. He was elected on April 10th, on the 25th the royal assent was given, and on the 26th the temporalities were restored. He came to London to be confirmed and then returned to his secular duties in Scotland, where he remained until called to attend convocation. On June 30 he took his seat in the House of Lords and in the upper house of convocation. He signed the articles which were the product of that memorable session as did his predecessor Sampson, but, unlike Sampson and Daye, he opposed the six articles of 1540 when the king was under the sway of the Romish party. 'With my lords of Salisbury, Worcester, and Rochester,' we read in the letter of a Romanist of the day, 'he defended the contrary a long time, yet finally His Highness confounded them all with God's learning.'[1] In other words, the articles were carried because the majority did not dare to face the displeasure of the king. In the compilation also of the 'Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for a Christian Man' Barlow is to be found on the side of the reforming party. The gross superstitions which prevailed in his diocese severely exercised and harassed the mind of

[1] See above, page 217, and Burnet, iii. 255, vi. 283.

the bishop. In particular there was an image of our Lady at St. David's which attracted crowds of worshippers. She had a lighted taper in her hand which was believed to have burned for nine years, till some one perjured himself before it, and then it went out. The cathedral teemed with so many gross impostures of this kind that Barlow thought the only remedy was to transplant the see. He urged its removal to Carmarthen, and wrote many letters to Cromwell on the subject, but without success.[1]

He was relieved from his embarrassment, however, in a different way. Instead of his see being translated, he was himself translated to another see, that of Bath and Wells, in February 1549. His appointment was the first ever made by the king's letters patent.

In what year he married I have not discovered, but soon after Mary's accession in 1553 he was removed from his bishopric, his marriage being one of the offences alleged for his deposition. He thought it prudent to make his escape secretly to the continent, and we may conclude there was some intention of imprisoning him, as Williamson, a sailor who had conveyed him from Bristol, was caught by some gentlemen in Pembrokeshire on his return, sent to London, and put in the Marshalsea. From a letter of Sampson,[2] however, to Calvin in 1555 it seems that Barlow had returned, and in an interview which Gardiner held with those who had been imprisoned for their opinions was more concessive than the rest. But this story does not tally with his conduct before or afterwards, and Hooper in a letter to Bullinger ranks him

[1] Burnet, iii. 387.

[2] Not Sampson of Chichester, who died in 1554, but Thomas Sampson, a thorough-going reformer of the foreign type, dean of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1561.

among those who were earnestly devoted to reformed doctrines, even of the Helvetic type.[1]

It has been made a matter for surprise by Fuller, Burnet, and most other historians, that Barlow was not restored to his old see, Bath and Wells, on the accession of Elizabeth, instead of being put into Chichester, which they imagined to be a poorer see. But the fact was the other way. Barlow had allowed large alienations of the church property in his former diocese. That bishopric was valued in the king's books at 535*l.*, whereas the value of Chichester was 677*l.* It was speedily reduced however by the effect of the Act already alluded to,[2] which enabled the queen to seize the lands of void bishoprics, giving in exchange a fixed unimprovable money payment consisting of tenths, and impropriations, which were liable to great deductions. The bishops elect, being Parker the primate, Cox of Ely, Grindal of London, Barlow of Chichester, and Scory of Hereford, presented a humble address to the queen praying that she would be pleased to forbear such exchanges; and that they might not be thought altogether unmindful of her great and necessary expenses, they offered 1,000 marks to be annually paid by the bishops of the province of Canterbury.[3] But the queen and Cecil were inflexible; the exchequer was drained by the mismanagement and disasters of Mary's reign. It was safer to irritate, to vex, the church, than to irritate the whole country by taxation. In the reign of Charles I. Bishop Montagu made an effort to recover the manor of Selsey, and from the legal statement of this case we learn precisely the extent to which the bishopric suffered under Elizabeth's Act. 'She took away,' he says, 'from this poor bishopric 8

[1] Burnet, iii. 250, 415. [2] Above, p. 246.
[3] Gibson's *Codex*, p. 676. Rymer, *Fœd.*, v. 15.

manours out of 13, to the clear yearlie value of 228*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.* rents of assize, besides the casualties sometimes as much more, and gave in recompence *of her special grace*, as the phrase runneth, in 4 parsonages impropriate, and the reste in dead rente of tenths 229*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The manours taken away were Heathfield, Ticehurste, Bishopstone, Bexhill, Drungewicke, Preston, Sidlesham, and Selsey, all which manours were given to God and the church of Chichester 300 years before.' It is also further stated in this document that 'dead rentes in tythes are no ways improveable, and to be collected in a hundred parcels. The manours at this day, and so then, were worth at least 2,500*l.* per annum, either according to the annual profits or the rate of money, being 228*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.* rents of assize besides casualties; every 10*l.* of such rente commonly countervayling 100*l.* of improved rente; the parsonages impropriate are but three, and a portion of tythe at Little Hampton all deep rated; viz.: the rectory of Brighton 17*l.*, Rudgwick 15*l.* 10*s.*, Walberton 6*l.* 13*s* 4*d.*, Little Hampton (portion) 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and all the rest is made up of dead rentes, as the tenths of the clergie.'[1]

Bishop Montagu was not successful in his cause. But it must be allowed that with the spoliation of episcopal property the whole of the mischief which Elizabeth did to the church begins and ends. It is indeed very questionable whether she had any strong religious feelings, but she had the heart of a patriot, and the mind of a statesman. She strove earnestly throughout her long reign to make her people prosperous, happy, contented, and with this aim in view she would not lavish favour on any one party to the total suppression of all others. As in her foreign, so in her domestic, and especially her ecclesiastical policy, she held a balance between conflicting powers. She, with her

[1] *MSS. Harleian*, No. 7381.

councillors Parker and Cecil, was the great originator of that middle course in doctrine and in practice which found its most forcible and eloquent expression in the great work of the learned and pious Hooker, and which, since truth and virtue lie in the 'mean,' constitutes, as sound churchmen verily believe, the strength and excellence of our English branch of the catholic church. Passionless herself, Elizabeth partly scorned as foolish, but partly dreaded as dangerous, the intemperate vehemence of partisans. The excesses to which puritanism had run in the reign of Edward VI. were to her utterly distasteful, especially in the matter of forms and ceremonies, for she loved splendour; but the puritans were too numerous and too powerful to be despised, while the papists were even more dangerous owing to their political intrigues with Germany, Spain, and her rival the Queen of Scots. Neither element was to be encouraged, but neither was to be exasperated into rebellion. The course which she deemed it as a rule safest to pursue, was to enforce the existing law where that law was clearly disobeyed.

There is in Barlow's register a copy of the circular letter sent by the Primate Parker to his suffragans in 1564, which illustrates this policy. The diversities in the mode of conducting public worship in the churches had become great and glaring. According to a letter of Cecil's to the queen, some of the clergy in the metropolis performed the service in the chancel, others in the body of the church; some officiated in a surplice, others without it; some kept precisely to the order of the book, others intermixed psalms in metre: in some churches the holy table stood in the body of the church, in others in the chancel; in some it stood altar-wise, in others table-wise, in some it had a carpet, in others it had none. Some clergy administered the eucharist with surplice and cap,

some with surplice alone, some with neither; some received kneeling, others sitting; some baptised in a font, others in a basin; some marked the child with the sign of a cross, others omitted it, and many more variations are complained of.[1] It is clear from the nature of them that what was to be dreaded was an excess of puritanic severity, lapsing into positive indecency and irreverence, in the performance of sacred functions.

The letter of Parker addressed through the bishop of London to Barlow and the rest of his suffragans, dated January 30, 1564, contains the substance of a letter which he had received from the queen expressing her great displeasure and vexation at the diversity of opinions, usages, and rites, and behaviour of the clergy in different parts of the realm, which 'caused foreigners to slander the countrye.' He was determined, the letter states, to suppress all such varieties and 'reduce all to a godly uniformitie;' and consequently he desired all the bishops and others 'having jurisdiction to search diligently into such diversities as were against the established laws, usages, and order of the church. No one was to be instituted or collated henceforth who would not solemnly swear to conform to the prescribed order: offenders were to be visited with ecclesiastical censures. If these failed some further remedy would have to be provided by some 'sharpe proceeding.' A faithful return of the persons by whom, and the places in which, these irregularities were practised was to be sent in by each bishop on the last day of February at the latest.[2]

This letter was soon afterwards followed up by the injunctions, commonly known as the 'Advertisements of Queen Elizabeth,' which insisted on certain conditions of

[1] Hook's *Life of Parker*, p. 381.
[2] Barlow's *Regist.*, p. 22.

ceremony and dress indispensable to the devout celebration of the sacraments.

Bishop Barlow had a share in the production of the new version of the bible commonly called the Bishops' Bible, begun in 1563 and published in 1568. It was designed to embody the best scholarship of the country, and to become the standard popular version rather than the Genevan edition, which was at that time most extensively read, but which, partly in the translation itself, and still more in the notes which accompanied it, savoured unpleasantly of Calvinistic influence. The object, in short, of the archbishop was to bring out an unsectarian edition of the sacred volume.

The plan which he adopted was carefully to select divines of high reputation for learning and scholarship, and it speaks well for the episcopal bench that most of them were bishops. To each of these he assigned a section or 'parcel' of the holy book, which they were to read, collating and correcting the several translations already made, and making a new one where they deemed it necessary. The 'parcel' assigned to Bishop Barlow consisted of the apocryphal books as far as the Book of Wisdom.[1] Whether any doubt of his scholarship or of his doctrine led Parker to allot this comparatively unimportant portion to him, or whether it was merely a matter of convenience in the division of labours, we have no means of determining.

I have not discovered when Barlow married. By a very singular coincidence his five daughters, the issue of his alliance with Agatha Wellesbourne, were all wedded to bishops. Ann, after the death of her first husband, Bradbridge of Chichester, became the wife of Westphaling, bishop of Hereford. Elizabeth married William

[1] Burnet, ii. 643.

Daye, bishop of Winchester, brother of our Bishop Daye. Margaret married Overton, of Lichfield and Coventry. Frances, after the death of her first husband, Matthew Parker, a son of the primate, married Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York. Antonia became the wife of William Wickham, bishop of Winchester.[1] This curious circumstance is duly recorded in the epitaph of Barlow's wife:

'Hic Agathæ tumulus, Barloi præsulis, inde
Exsulis, inde iterum præsulis uxor erat.
Prole beata fuit, plena annis, quinque suarum
Præsulibus vidit, præsulis ipsa, datas.'[2]

Barlow died in 1568, and the see was not filled up for two years, during which time the queen, probably by virtue of the new Act described above, carried on her spoliation of the episcopal property. His successor, *Richard Curteys* (1570–1586), variously spelt Coortesse, Curtoys, and Curtis, was a man so thoroughly acceptable to Parker and the queen that in the opinion of the primate he deserved a richer see. He was a native of Lincolnshire, and received his education at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he became fellow in 1552 and proctor in 1564. He preached before the queen on the occasion of some visit which she made to Cambridge, and delighted her so much with his eloquence that he was made chaplain in ordinary to her, as well as chaplain to the primate. Being appointed to preach at Paul's Cross, he selected for his text, Revelations xii. i.: 'And there appeared a great wonder in Heaven: a woman clothed with the sun,' &c.[3] It is almost needless to say that the preacher interpreted the 'woman' with reference to the queen in terms which would seem to us fulsome

[1] Wood's *Athen.* Oxon.

[2] Fuller's *Worthies*, who says she was buried in a church in Hampshire, but does not indicate the place more precisely.

[3] Godwin.

and offensive, but which were only the familiar fashion of the age. And it must be remembered that the sermons at Paul's Cross were intended by the crown to be means of inculcating sound principles in politics as well as religion, just as much as any Government newspaper of the present day.

In 1566 Curteys was made dean of Chichester. Parker in a letter to Cecil expresses his pleasure at the appointment, and his hope that a prebendal stall in Canterbury then vacant may be given him 'for his better furniture.'[1] On the death of Barlow he recommended him for the see, saying 'the choice is not great otherwise,' and he being an honest learned man, I would trust that he should well supply it to God's honour and the queen's contentation. He is now but a poor man and wanteth living: his age is competent.'[2] The Canterbury prebend was given, but the see was not granted till 1570. He was consecrated at Canterbury, without paying any fees, on Trinity Sunday, May 21, and was enthroned by proxy at Chichester on the 30th.[3] He justified the wisdom of the appointment by the assiduity and zeal with which he administered his diocese. In the note books of Bishop White Kennett among the Lansdowne MSS. is a memorandum of a book by 'Richarde Coortesse, Docter of Divinitie, Bishop of Chichester, imprinted by H. Jackson for William Browne, 1577.' There is not much account of the work itself entitled 'An Exposition of certayn wordes of St. Paule to the Romaynes,' but in extracts from the Preface to the Reader we are supplied with some interesting information about the writer. First, that 'over and beside his ordinary preaching upon Sondays and holidays, he hath gone three times thro' this whole

[1] Parker's *Correspond.*, 291.
[2] Parker's *Corresp.*, 332. He was 48 years old. [3] *Register.*

diocese of Chichester, preaching himself at the greatest towns, and many learned preachers with him in other places. He hath been received of the whole shire exceeding well and in such sorte as the like hath not been seen in the memory of man. And whereas it was a rare thing before his time to have a learned sermon in Sussex, now the pulpittes in most places sound continually with the voyce of learned and godly preachers, he himself as "Dux Gregis" giving good example unto the rest in so grave and learned a manner that the people with ardent zeale, wonderful rejoicinge, and in great number, take farre and long journeys to be partakers of his good and godly lessons.'

Bishop Curteys, however, was not one of those who overvalued preaching to the neglect of other ordinances. He was a member of the commission under Parker in 1571, which issued instructions to churchwardens in nowise to suffer any incumbent to minister any sacrament, or say any public prayers, except as prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer and the queen's laws; or any person publicly or privately to teach, read, or preach in any public place of worship or private house, unless licensed by the queen, primate, or bishop of the diocese.

The Preface also already quoted dilates upon the diligence and vigour with which thē bishop not only trained godly preachers, and suppressed 'Machiavels, Papistes, Libertines and Atheists,' but also 'charitably maintained orphans and widows and punished immoralities of all kinds;' 'for the which good deeds (such is the malice of Sathan and his lims) most bitter and bad speeches are thrown out against him; yea and certain hyred and suborned to go from nobleman to nobleman, from justiciaries to justiciaries, from common table to common table, to carry such tales and surmises as the informer

knowith to be false.' In June 1577 he had to procure a testimonial signed and sealed by several gentlemen to certify that he had not been drunk at the house of a Mr. John Sherwin, 'as by some he was most unjustly slandered.'[1] The writer of the Preface goes on to inform us that when the bishop heard 'of any lewd and opprobrious speeches spread of him, he was no whit moved but only answered, "It is for doynge my dutye. My master Christ escaped not evill tongues, and St. Paull counselleth us to go on by good reportes and evil reportes, "'et a malis vituperari et laudari est,'" and so he never thinketh more of the matter.'

From an inventory of his effects among the Lansdowne MSS. it appears that he died very poor and in debt, partly owing to the effects of the queen's spoliation Act, but in a great measure also on account of his benefactions and hospitality. There was no hope, Strype remarks, 'to recover anything, the bishop's widow being left very poor, so that the weight thereof is to fall on the next bishop; the woods are so spoiled that there is scarce sufficient for firewood.'[2]

After the death of Bishop Curteys the see remained vacant again for two years, during which the primate suspended several incumbents for declining to conform to the Liturgy.

At the end of this period another chaplain of the late Primate Parker was put into the see; a safe conscientious man like his predecessor, who without being brilliant could be trusted to do his duty and exercise due vigilance over the clergy of Sussex, whose conformity seems to have been tardy and incomplete.

Thomas Bickley, 1585–1596, was a native of Stow in Buckinghamshire. His parents were probably not wealthy

[1] *MS. State Paper Office.* [2] *Annals*, ii. b. ii. 277–8.

persons, for Thomas began his education as a chorister in the free school attached to Magdalen College, Oxford. From this humble beginning he worked his way up to the position first of demy and then (1540) of fellow of his college. By the end of Henry VIII.'s reign he had acquired such a reputation as a reformer and a preacher that he was appointed one of the king's chaplains at Windsor. It is difficult to believe Fuller's story, that as a proof of his contempt of transubstantiation he on one occasion broke the host in pieces in the college chapel and trampled them under his feet; but at any rate he was too notable a man to remain with safety in the country during the reign of Mary, and accordingly he retired to France, where he spent most of his time in study at Orleans and Paris. Having returned to England after the accession of Elizabeth, he enjoyed rapid promotion, being made chaplain to Parker, rector of Biddenden in Kent, and Sutton Walton in Dorsetshire, archdeacon of Stafford, chancellor of Lichfield, and warden of Merton within ten years.[1]

He was consecrated to Chichester on January 30, 1585, and on March 3 he was enthroned by proxy.[2] He occupied the see ten years, but his register is merely a bare record of official acts, and from other sources we only learn that he was much beloved of all in his diocese, which he administered piously and religiously with sobriety and sincerity, the height of justice and singular prudence.

He was an old man when the bishopric was conferred upon him, and accepted it with contentment rather than pleasure. When he was buried on May 26, 1596, his 'bodie was accompanied to the earthe with dyverse worshipfull persons.' He bequeathed 40*l.* to Magdalen

[1] Wood's *Athen.* Ox., ii. 839. [2] *Register.*

College to be expended in ceiling and paving the school, and 100*l.* to Merton for the purchase of land to provide a salary for one of the fellows who should preach a sermon to the University on May Day in the chapel of the college. A small monument over his grave is attached to the north wall of the Ladye Chapel in the cathedral. 'His figure kneeling thereon shows him,' says Wood, 'to have been a comely and handsome man.' If so, ideas of manly beauty must have considerably changed since Wood's time.

Antony Watson, 1596–1605, was, like his predecessor, unmarried, and therefore the more free, notwithstanding the impoverishment of the bishopric, to indulge the hospitality and liberality to which he was naturally inclined. He was the son of Edward Watson, of Thorpe Thules in the county of Durham. Beyond a list of his preferments I have not discovered anything about his earlier years. He was fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; rector of Cheam, Surrey, and of Watford, Herts, 1585; dean of Bristol, 1590; chancellor of Wells, 1592.[1]

He seems to have been a quiet unambitious man, who shrank so much from the higher dignity to which he was summoned that he offered the Earl of Leicester 200*l.* on condition of his never being made a bishop. When the queen proposed to nominate him to Chichester, 'that will be,' said the earl, 'the loss of 200*l.* to me.' 'More worthy,' replied Elizabeth, 'is he who declines with 200*l.* than he who buys his mitre with 2,000*l.*'

He seems to have been very constantly in attendance on the Primates Whitgift and Bancroft, for between August 1596, when he became bishop, and September 1605, when he died, his name appears in every list of

[1] Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*

the consecrators of bishops at Lambeth, but two; in all, ten times out of twelve.

He knelt beside the Primate Whitgift and joined in the long and passionate prayers which the good old man offered up by the bedside of the dying queen for the welfare of her soul.[1]

He was present at the Hampton Court Conference of bishops and divines with the puritan leaders in the first year of James I., 1604, but took no active part in the debate, which on the side of the bishops was mainly carried on by Bancroft, first as bishop of London, and then as Primate, and by Bilson, bishop of Winchester.

[1] Hook's *Life of Whitgift.*

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHURCH IN THE REIGNS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.—BISHOP ANDREWES—SERMON OF HARSNETT AT PAUL'S CROSS—CARLETON AT THE SYNOD OF DORT—MONTAGU'S 'APPELLO CÆSAREM'—BRIAN DUPPA'S ARTICLES OF ENQUIRY—HENRY KING—STATE OF THE CHURCH AT THE TIME OF HIS APPOINTMENT TO CHICHESTER—THE SIEGE OF CHICHESTER—CAPTURE—BISHOP TAKEN—SUFFERINGS OF THE CLERGY—DEATH AND BURIAL OF CHILLINGWORTH AT CHICHESTER.

Bishops.	Accession, A.D.	Contemporary Sovereigns.
Lancelot Andrewes	1605	James I.
Samuel Harsnett	1609	James I.
George Carleton	1619	Charles I.
Richard Montagu	1628	Charles I.
Brian Duppa	1638	Charles I.
Henry King	1642	Commonwealth.
		Charles II.

In the reigns of James I. and Charles I., with which this chapter is concerned, the Church was taken up into that close favour and friendship of the sovereign which seemed at the time to promote the happiness and prosperity of both, but in the end hurried them to their overthrow. The secret of Elizabeth's power was that she knew how to deal both her frowns and her smiles. She was absolute mistress over all her subjects, but would never place herself at the head of any one party to depress all others. James and Charles courted the Church, and the Church fell into the snare. James had been so much irritated and alarmed by the overbearing treatment which

he experienced from the Presbyterian divines in his own country that he was overjoyed at the mildness and moderation of the English bishops. They in their turn were so much relieved to find the king untainted by Presbyterian prejudices that they could not restrain the expression of their thankfulness within proper bounds, and their language of admiration too often took the tone of flattery and adulation. The Church became the Church of the monarchy rather than of the nation.

James and Charles were convinced that there was alike a divine right of kings and a divine right of bishops, and that the two powers must stand or fall together. 'No bishop, no king,' was in their judgment, the formula of a sound and indisputable theory; but personal piety could not shield either the king or the bishops from the popular indignation which must attend those who attempt to work a theory of absolute rule which is in itself unsound, and in practice becomes utterly immoral.

The real personal goodness of Laud, even the holiness of Andrewes, and the piety of such men as our own Brian Duppa and Henry King, could not blind men's eyes to the tyranny of the High Commission, any more than the devout religiousness of the king, and his personal kindness to individuals, could atone for his treating his subjects collectively like a set of puppets or children, and governing through the Star Chamber and High Commission rather than through the Parliament of the nation. And so mitre and crown were brought for a time to the dust together; and, indeed, men are only just beginning clearly to see that the fortunes of the two are not indissolubly allied, and that it is possible for the most thorough good liberal to be (in a great measure just because he *is* a liberal) a thorough good churchman also.

Lancelot Andrewes, 1605–1609.—The history of Lan-

celot Andrewes does not fall within the scope of memorials of this see. He only occupied it for four years, being translated to Ely in 1609, and his register does not record any acts of importance. Yet we may well feel proud and happy merely to place the name of so pure, so holy, so learned, and so thoroughly honest a man as Andrewes among our list of bishops. Opinions will differ in these days respecting the value of his sermons, yet though some persons may be repelled and others attracted by the excessive quaintness of his style, most will allow that they are a rich store of material for the modern commentator or sermon writer. Perhaps the best legacy which he has left us is his book of devotions, and the memory of his blameless life.

No one came in contact with him without feeling better for the intercourse, and King James himself refrained in his presence from that grotesque and undignified jocosity in which he was apt to indulge.

That his learning was great for the age there can be no question, even if Fuller exaggerates when he says that 'the world wanted learning to know how learned he was.'[1]

Samuel Harsnett, 1605–1609.—Of Bishop Harsnett's early career I have failed to discover traces, save that he was born at Colchester, and was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.[2] His first appearance in history as a man of mark is in the capacity of a preacher at St. Paul's Cross in 1584. His sermon contained a warm and vigorous denunciation of the Calvinistic doctrines of eternal election and reprobation. He took for his text Ezek. xxxiii. 11, 'As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked.' 'There is a conceit in the world (he said), which speaks little better

[1] *History*, vi. 39. [2] Newcourt's *Repert.* i. 73.

of our gracious God than this: that God should design many thousands of souls to hell before they were; not in eye to their faults, but to his own absolute will and power, and to get him glory in their damnation. This opinion is grown high and monstrous, and like a Goliah, and men do shake and tremble at it, yet never a man reaches to David's sling to cast it down. In the name of the Lord of Hosts we will encounter it.'

He then proceeds to assault it in vehement and scornful language, under five principal heads. (I.) It was in opposition to his text from Holy Scripture, and so turned the truth of God into a lie. 'For whereas God doth say and swear that he doth not delight in the death of man, this opinion saith that not one, or two, but millions of men, should fry in hell. The oath, therefore, should have run thus: "As I live, saith the Lord, I do delight in the death of man."'

(II.) It made God the author of sin; 'for if God, without eye to sin, did design men to hell, then did he say and set down that he should sin; for without sin he cannot come to hell.'

(III.) It took away from Adam 'all freedom of will and liberty not to sin. . . . . And here I remember a little witty solution is made: that is, if we respect Adam's will, he had power not to sin; but if God's decrees, he could not but sin. This is a silly solution; and, indeed, it is as much as if you should take a sound, strong man, that hath power to walk and to lie still, and bind him hand and foot (as they do in Bedlam), and lay him down, and then bid him rise up and walk, or else you will stir him up with a whip, and he tell you that there be chains, so that he is not able to stir. And you tell him again that that is no excuse; for if he look upon his health, his strength, his legs, he hath power to walk

or stand still; but if upon his chains, indeed, in that respect he is not able to walk. I trow he that should whip that man for not walking were well worthy to be whipped himself.'

(IV.) It made in God 'two wills, the one flat opposite to the other: a hidden will by which he appointed and willed that Adam should sin, and an open will by which he forbade him to sin. His open will said, "Thou shalt not eat of the tree of good and evil;" his hidden will said, "Thou shalt eat—nay, now I myself cannot keep thee from eating, for my decree from eternity is passed; thou shalt eat that thou mayest drown all thy posterity into sin, and that I may drench them, as I have designed, in the bottomless pit of hell."'

(V.) If God had planted man in Paradise, and honoured him with the sovereignty over all his creatures, only to throw him down headlong into hell, he would have been dealing like Jezebel with Naboth when he set him on high among the people 'that so he might have the greater fall.'[2] Such sound common sense, expressed in such plain, homely, yet vigorous words, must have convinced many minds of the unreasonableness as well as the immorality and impiety of Calvinistic tenets. The Calvinistic party, however, became increasingly powerful, and ten years later gained a decided triumph in the Lambeth Articles. The intellect or the fears of the otherwise clear-minded and courageous Primate Whitgift were so wrought upon in the Lambeth Conference, that he gave his consent to those articles, and thereby forfeited for a time the favour of Queen Elizabeth and the confidence of the Church. Heylin, in endeavouring to defend this passage in Whitgift's life, observes, amongst other things, that he entertained Dr. Harsnett in his family,

[1] Collier, vol. vii. 198.

who was well known as an uncompromising antagonist of Calvinism. Harsnett, in fact, was one of Whitgift's chaplains, and by him was recommended to Elizabeth and King James. His promotion was rapid; he became Vicar of Chigwell in Essex, A.D. 1597, where he founded two free schools; archdeacon of Colchester, A.D. 1602; chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, prebendary of Mapesbury in St. Paul's, master of Pembroke Hall, and twice vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

In 1609 he was appointed to the see of Chichester. His register is lost, but the articles of enquiry addressed to the chapter, and the statutes, which were drawn up under his direction, prove that he was a vigilant and sensible administrator.[1]

In 1619 he was translated to Norwich, and in 1628 to York. He died at Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Gloucestershire, A.D. 1631, on his way from Bath to his manor at Southwell, but was buried at Chigwell. By his will he directed that a large stone should be placed over his grave, with an effigy in brass one inch thick, so riveted down that sacrilegious hands shall not be able to rend off the one without breaking the other. The inscription round the effigy bespeaks him a man of genuine humility:—

'H. J. Sam. Harsnett quondam vicarius hujus ecclesiæ, primum indignus Episcopus Cicestrensis, dein indignior Episcopus Norwicensis, demum indignissimus Episcopus Eboracensis.'

George Carleton, 1619–1628.—Harsnett's successor was not less learned than himself, but more inclined to Calvinism. He was a son of Guy Carleton, of Carleton Hall in Cumberland, and was born at Norham in Northumberland, when his father was warder of the castle there. His early education was superintended by Ber-

[1] See concluding chapter.

nard Gilpin, called the Northern Apostle; and when seventeen years old, in 1576, he was sent to S. Edmund Hall, Oxford. He took his M.A. in 1579, and in 1580 was elected fellow of Merton. Here he occupied himself by writing, and won a high reputation as a good orator and poet, and a better disputant in theology. The only book of his which I have seen, is one entitled 'Jurisdiction Regall, Episcopall, Papall; wherein is declared how the Pope hath intruded upon the jurisdiction of Temporall Princes, and of the Church. The intrusion is discovered, and the peculiar and distinct jurisdiction to each properly belonging recovered. London, A.D. 1610.' It is a work which displays considerable learning and historical research for that time, and much good sense.

In 1618 Carleton was made bishop of Llandaff, and in the same year he was selected by the king, with three other divines, to represent the Church of England at the Synod of Dort, where he distinguished himself by making a spirited protest against adopting the 31st article of the Belgic Confession, which affirmed 'That the ministers of the Word of God, in what place so ever settled, have the same advantage of character, the same jurisdiction and authority, in regard they are all equally ministers of Christ, the only universal bishop, and head of the Church.' Carleton maintained the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, in opposition to this levelling article, and said he 'appealed to the judgment of antiquity, and of any learned man then living, in support of his argument.' The bishop's protest was vain, but his courage won admiration from his adversaries. When the English divines returned to England, the Dutch States, besides paying the expenses of their voyage and presenting each with a gold medal, sent a letter to the king, in which Bishop Carleton is distinguished by a special commendation.[1]

[1] Collier, vii. 408.

In the following year he was translated to Chichester, probably as a reward for the ability with which he had upheld the honour of the English Church at the Synod of Dort. He occupied the see for nine years, but his register is lost, and I have not discovered any record of his acts.

He published several books after he became bishop of Chichester, most of which are in the Bodleian, the principal being his 'Oration at the Hague, before the Prince of Orange and the Assembly of the States General,' on his introduction with his brother divines; a work called the 'Madness of Astrologers,' and 'The Life of Bernard Gilpin.' His son, Henry Carleton, who lived for some time in the parish of Firle, near Lewes, became a parliamentarian, and held a commission in the parliamentarian army, in which office it is said 'he shewed himself an enemy of bishops.'[1]

Richard Montagu, 1628–1638.—The history of Bishop Montagu is unhappily bound up with that series of events by which the people of England became profoundly distrustful of their king, and for a time alienated from the Church. His career, therefore, before he became bishop must be briefly noticed, as it explains the displeasure and discontent which his elevation to our see excited among certain persons. He was born at Dorney in Buckinghamshire, of which place his father, Lawrence Montagu, was vicar, and was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. He became incumbent of Wooton Courtney in Somersetshire, prebendary of Wells, rector of Stanford Rivers in Essex, chaplain to King James, and archdeacon and dean of Hereford. This last dignity he exchanged for a canonry at St. George's, Windsor, A.D. 1617, and about the same time was made a fellow of Eton. His first connexion with Sussex was as rector

[1] Wood's *Athen.* Fuller's *Worthies.*

of Petworth, where he rebuilt the rectory. His first great manifestation of ability and learning was made in his attack upon Selden's 'History of Tithes,' which had been published in 1618. To enter the lists against Selden was to encounter a man who was considered the giant of the age in learning, but Montagu proved himself no mean antagonist; for he had mastered the subject historically, and in force of satire was more than a match for his adversary. A summary of the arguments by which he vindicated the right of the clergy to tithes may be read in 'Collier,' and as his subsequent history did not hinge upon this book, it is not needful to dwell upon it here.

His next publication was a source of trouble to himself, to King Charles I., and to William Laud. In 1624. when Montagu was rector of Stanford Rivers, some Roman Catholic priests and Jesuits made themselves busy in the neighbourhood. Montagu left a paper of queries on doctrine at a house where they were accustomed to meet, with a statement annexed that if they could return satisfactory answers to his questions, he would immediately become their proselyte. The proposal no doubt was intended as a sarcastic joke, and at any rate as such it was received. No answers were returned to his questions, but after a time a pamphlet was sent to him entitled 'A New Gag for the Gospel.' It was a libellous attempt to fasten the credit of Calvinistic teaching and practice on the Church of England: such as the rejection of confession and absolution, the equality of bishops and presbyters, the adoption of the five predestinarian articles concerning election and reprobation accepted at Lambeth but repudiated by Elizabeth, and settled at the Synod of Dort.

Montagu had not much difficulty in refuting such shallow calumnies by a cutting reply which he entitled

'The Gagger gagged, or a new Gag for an old Goose.' But while he demolished one enemy, Montagu fell into the jaws of another. The Puritan party conceived that while vindicating the character of the Church from Calvinism, he advanced too far in the direction of Arminianism and Popery. At least it was their interest thus to stigmatise a book which damaged their own positions by exposing the inconsistency of their newly devised doctrines with the teaching of the primitive Church. They prepared to prefer a formal charge against Montagu at the next Parliament.

Montagu, however, had the king on his side. James had quite abandoned the sympathy with Calvinism which, produced either by whimsical fancy or by policy, had led him to favour the Synod of Dort. He had a liking and admiration for Montagu, and gave him leave to draw up an appeal from his accusers, in print, and address it to the king. Dr. White, dean of Carlisle, a well-known antagonist of Roman teaching, was directed to see it published and attach to it his declaration that 'there was nothing in it but what was agreeable to the faith, doctrine, and discipline established in the Church of England.'

The tract was designated 'Appello Cæsarem; or a Just Appeal from unjust Informers.' Before it was printed King James died, but the address was transferred to King Charles, and Montagu was made one of the royal chaplains.

The tract contained the assertion of no doctrines or customs but such as have ever been held in the Church: the descent of Christ into hell; the lawful use as distinguished from the abuse of images; signing with the cross; the real presence; the reward of good works; the use of the terms 'sacrifice and altar.' The Puritans, however, were dissatisfied with it, as indeed they were with every

kind of teaching which did not square with their peculiar views respecting the cardinal points of election and reprobation.

Montagu was diligently represented by them as a thinly disguised papist. He was summoned to the bar of the House of Commons in the first Parliament of Charles, where he was informed that the censure of his books would be deferred for a time, but that meanwhile he would be committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. He was presently released, but was compelled to deposit 2,000*l.* as a pledge that he would reappear at the next session.

Laud, then bishop of St. David's, wrote a joint letter, with the bishops of Rochester and Oxford, to the duke of Buckingham imploring his interest on behalf of Montagu, bearing their testimony to his learning and sincerity, and defending his book from the charge of infidelity to the teaching of the Church.

In the second Parliament, however, Montagu's book was again discussed, being referred by the House to a committee formed for the consideration of religious questions, the first ever appointed in the House. The old complaints against the book were drawn up under five principal heads, ending with a petition that the said Richard Montagu 'may be punished according to his demerits in such exemplary manner as may deter others from attempting so presumptuously to disturb the peace of the Church and State, and that the book aforesaid may be suppressed and burnt.' At the same time a conference of bishops and divines was held in York House on the subject, but they only got into endless and profitless discussions whether it was possible for one elected to fall from grace. Pamphlets and tracts against Montagu's book were produced in great abundance by

the puritan party, and even Carleton, then bishop of Chichester, broke a lance with Montagu on the Calvinistic side. The king and Laud at last stepped into the fray, and with their customary and infatuated want of judgment, endeavoured to suppress it by a peremptory exercise of authority. The king issued a proclamation on June 14, acquitting his chaplain of any disloyalty to the Church, prohibiting any further controversy on the subject, and calling upon all the bishops to suppress in their several dioceses all such preaching as would tend to the production of disturbance. Laud, consequently, and some other bishops tried to stifle the publication of the adverse tracts by calling them in as fast as they came out, or by bringing up the printers and authors (where they could find them) before the high commission. Such proceedings of course only exasperated the evil which they were intended to subdue.

The whole conduct of the king indeed, with reference to Montagu, is a good illustration of those fatal defects in his character which ultimately cost him his throne and his life. He stood obstinately and overbearingly firm when he ought to have yielded, and afterwards, as we shall see, yielded, when the only honest and consistent thing to do was to stand firm.

In 1628 when the irritation caused by the attempts to put down the proceedings against Montagu may have begun to die away, the king revived it by nominating him to the see of Chichester in the place of Carleton, who was reckoned more or less a member of the Calvinian party, and had written a tract against the teaching of the man now appointed to succeed him. At the same time Laud was translated from Bath and Wells to London. This was certainly not wise policy, as an incident which occurred soon afterwards proved. At the confirmation of bishops

in the court of Arches at Bow Church, Cheapside, a public notice was, according to custom, issued, that if any persons had any objections to raise against the men elected or the validity of their election, they should come and state them on the appointed day. A certain bookseller named Jones, attended by a mob, appeared and entered a protest against the confirmation of Montagu, as a fosterer of popery, Arminianism, and other errors, for which his book had been censured in Parliament.

The exceptions made by Jones were disregarded by the Vicar-General as informal, not being given in writing, signed by an advocate, or presented by a proctor of the court. The confirmation went on, and Montagu was quietly consecrated in the archbishop's palace at Croydon two days afterwards, Laud assisting at the ceremony.

The king having carried the day in the appointment of Montagu, had clearly but one wise and honest course open to him, which was to stand fast by the man whom he had thrust into such a perilous position. Instead of this, he stultified himself almost directly afterwards by issuing a proclamation for the suppression of Montagu's celebrated 'Appeal' as well as of some sermons preached at Whitehall by Dr. Manwaring, which maintained in most extravagant language the right of the king to absolute and irresponsible power. To issue a royal order for suppression of either, at this particular time, was alike silly and unjust. If Montagu's book deserved suppression at all it had deserved it long ago when the king supported it; if it deserved suppression now, then the writer ought not to have been made a bishop. Manwaring had not only been imprisoned, fined, and suspended by the House of Lords, but had made a most formal and humble recantation of his errors, so that any condemnation of his book was now superfluous. As if these mistakes were not

enough, the king plunged yet deeper into the mire by issuing simultaneously with the order for suppressing their books, his royal pardon to the authors for all errors formerly committed in speaking, writing, or printing. Manwaring was, notwithstanding the sentence of suspension pronounced by the lords, presented to the Rectory of Stanford-Rivers in Essex (the very living which Montagu had formerly held), and was ultimately, in 1536, made bishop of St. David's.[1] But such was ever the way with Charles. 'Quem vult Deus perdere prius dementat;' if the right thing was ever done it was usually at the wrong time, and even then it was, as a rule, more than counterbalanced by some inexpressibly foolish proceeding.

Montagu's register is lost, and the only memorandum of his administration which I have discovered, consists of the articles of enquiry drawn up for his first visitation of his diocese.[2]

There is nothing in them which would warrant the least suspicion of Romish propensities, or indicate more than a desire to order the service of the Church according to a decent but sober standard. He asks 'whether a comely, large, and fine surplice is provided for the minister in every parish church, and whether in the administering of the holy communion he uses the garments prescribed; whether any are suffered to be present who do not communicate; whether they meekly kneel, or whether they stand or sit at the time of reception; whether the communion table is profaned at any time by sitting on it, casting hattes or cloakes upon it, writing or casting up accounts, or any other indecent usage.'

The necessity of putting such questions shows to what lengths irreverence had gone, especially in the treatment of the holy table, and justifies the determination of Laud

[1] Collier. [2] In British Museum.

to have it set back again altar-wise at the east end of the church in all parishes throughout the kingdom.

Laud's metropolitical visitation in 1635 brought him to Chichester during the episcopate of Bishop Montagu. The orders then decreed by him, dated July 20th, have been preserved, but do not throw much light on the condition of the Cathedral or the Cathedral body at that time. No prebendaries, resident or non-resident, were at any time to come into choir without a surplice, square cap, and hood fit for their degree. The hall and kitchen of the vicars, and the house of Bishop Sherburne's prebendaries, and all other canons' houses were to be put into good repair. The Paradise, which had been turned into a garden, was to be restored to its pristine and consecrated use as a burial-ground.

Copes were to be provided at the rate of one a year until a sufficient number was got.

Stall wages in arrear due to the vicars were to be paid up.

'The meetings and hospitable invitations anciently observed by the residentiaries, and by them kept quarterly for the choir,' were still to be maintained, 'or else the cost of the same in money given, which some of them, we are informed, have lately begun to do.'

In the same year there came to England an agent from the papal court named Panzani. The avowed object of his mission was to effect a reconciliation between some secular and regular clergy of the Romish communion, who then, as ever, could not agree. His chief business, however, seems really to have been to examine into the condition of Roman Catholics in England, to observe the attitude of the court and the Church towards the papal see, and to ascertain whether there was a possibility of any kind of concord between the two Churches. Charles,

no doubt, was willing if not anxious to conciliate the pope so far as to induce him to withdraw his opposition to the oath of allegiance, and so to place Roman Catholic subjects in a more comfortable relation with their sovereign.

Bishop Montagu was one of those who had frequent interviews with Panzani, and expressed himself strongly, perhaps indiscreetly, as to the lengths the king and some of the bishops, including Laud and himself, would be prepared to go in the direction of reconciliation.[1] It is difficult, however, to avoid thinking that Panzani must have exaggerated the language of Montagu in his account of these interviews, for Montagu continued to enjoy the favour and confidence of the king and primate, who were certainly both of them steadfastly opposed to Roman Catholicism, however unwisely and harshly they may have treated the puritan party in the Church.

Laud especially was regarded at Rome as the most formidable and determined adversary to the papal interest and authority in England. Yet Montagu was translated to Norwich in 1638, with the approval of Laud. He only occupied that see three years, and it was well for him that he did not live longer, as he would probably have experienced very small mercy at the hands of the Long Parliament. He was buried in the cathedral of Norwich under a slab, bearing, according to his own direction, the brief epitaph, 'Depositum Montacutii Episcopi.'

Brian Duppa, 1638–1642.—The successor of Montagu was nearly his equal in learning, and his superior in discretion as well as in depth and simplicity of piety. Brian Duppa was the son of Jeffrey Duppa (an abbrevia-

[1] Collier. Hallam, *Constit. Hist.*, seems unfair towards Montagu.

tion of de Uppaugh), vicar of Lewisham, in Kent, and was born on March 10, 1588. He was a king's scholar at Westminster when Lancelot Andrewes was dean, who taught him Hebrew. In 1605 he was elected student of Christchurch, Oxford, and in 1612 Fellow of All Souls. After taking holy orders and spending some time in travelling abroad, he took his D.D. in 1625, and in 1629 he was made dean of Christchurch. He was vice-chancellor of Oxford in 1632 and 1633, and in 1634 became chancellor of Salisbury. Soon after this the king appointed him tutor to Prince Charles, and in 1638 he was presented to the rectory of Petworth, and held it in commendam with the bishopric of Chichester, which was bestowed on him in the same year.[1]

His register has been lost, and I have not discovered any record of his administration except the articles of enquiry addressed by him to the churchwardens of all parishes at his primary visitation of the diocese, 1638.[2]

They are particularly interesting as indicating the principal defects prevalent at that time in the conduct of divine service and the condition of churches; as well as the standard at which a bishop aimed who was a high churchman of the very best type :—

The following is a copy of the more important questions :—

i. Are the walls of your Church whited ?

ii. What galleries and scaffolds have you in your Church ? Is there not conveniency of room for the parishioners to be present at sermons or divine service without them.

iii. What manner pews are built ? are they decent and uniform, or have not some built them so much higher than others as may hinder their neighbours from hearing divine service ?

[1] Wood's *Athenæ*. [2] In British Museum.

iv. Is your Chancell severed with a partition from the body of the Church? is it decently kept, not encumbered with pews or other lumber?

v. Is the churchyard kept clean from feeding and dunging of cattle, especially from swine rooting up the graves of dead bodies?

vi. Have there been kept in the church, chapple, or churchyard, any plays, feasts, suppers, church ales, temporal courts, or Leet day juries, musters, or meetings for rates and taxations, especially at the Communion Table?

vii. Have you a convenient pew for him that officiates to read divine service in: a Bible of the largest volume: a Common Prayer-book in folio: the Book of Homilies allowed by authority: a fair Surplice or two to be used by the Minister and him that shall assist him in the administration of the Sacrament?

viii. Is your Communion Table or Altar strong, fair, and decent? is it set according to the practice of the ancient Church upon an ascent at the East end of the Chancel with the ends of it north and south? is it compassed in with a handsome rail to keep it from profanation according to an order made in the Metropolitical Visitation?

ix. What coverings have you for the Holy Table? is there one of silk or some good stuff to cover it all times: and another of fair clean linen for the time of celebration? are the ten commandments set up at the east end?

x. Doth your minister use such comely and decent apparel as becometh the gravity of his calling and may distinguish him from the Laity, or doth he wear long hair and deep ruffles, falling bands down to his shoulders, or any other unseemly garments not proper to his ministry? If a Parson (Rector) or a Vicar, doth he reside? or if a Curate, hath he an honest and sufficient salary? doth he idly vague up and down, or in any way else so entangle himself in secular affairs as to neglect the duties of his calling?

xi. Is your minister zealous of the good of his flock, as diligently to labour for the reclaiming of Recusants whether they be such as with peril of their souls superstitiously adhere to the Church of Rome, or such in the other extreme, who having

perversely relinquished our Communion, find nothing to adhere to but their own private fancies?

xii. Doth he in celebration of divine service use such vestments as are enjoined by authority? doth he constantly in performing that duty wear a Surplice and an hood (if he be a Graduate) suitable to his degree?

xiii. Doth he in his Sermons preach Christ and Him crucified, abstaining from those high points of speculation which have raised combustion in Christian Churches? Doth he in time of divine service, use due and lowly reverence at the mention of the blessed name of Jesus, instructing others to do the like, not as an adoration of the bare sound of the word but as an humble acknowledgement that there is not either in heaven or earth any name by which we shall be saved but that alone?

xiv. Doth he use the prescribed form of prayer before his sermon to prevent the indiscreet flying out of some in their extemporary prayers?

xv. Doth he convert the popular afternoon sermon on the Sunday into catechising by question and answer?

xvi. Doth he preach in a gown and cassock, not in a riding or ambulatory cloak?

xvii. Is the blessed sacrament of Holy Communion administered in the Church every month upon the first Sunday or at least thrice in the year, whereof Easter to be one. Doth your minister deliver this Sacrament to any standing or sitting, or in any other posture than on the knee? doth he first receive it himself and after deliver it to the communicants, not in gross but one by one, using all the words enjoined severally to each of them?

xviii. What Popish Recusants or other sectaries are there? are there any who hold or frequent private conventicles, or who publicly or privately speak against the Book of Common Prayer, and against the articles . . . Are there any that be suspected to be Anabaptists, Brownists, Libertines, of the family of love or any other heresy or schism?

In 1641 Bishop Duppa was translated to Salisbury, but was soon after deprived of the temporalities by the Parliament. He spent much time with Charles during his

imprisonment, and after his execution he lived unmolested in retirement at Richmond, in Surrey, up to the Restoration, when he was made Lord Almoner, and translated to Winchester, but died two years afterwards. Charles II. seems to have had a real veneration for the holy man, and some feeling of remorse for neglecting to follow his fatherly counsels in the way of godliness. He repeatedly visited the bishop as he lay on his death-bed at Richmond, knelt down beside him, and craved his blessing. Bishop Duppa was buried in Westminster Abbey, and Henry King, his successor in the see of Chichester, preached a sermon concerning him to 'the great content of the auditory.'[1]

His printed works are, for the most part, of a devotional character, among which is one entitled 'Holy Rules and Helps to Devotion both in Prayer and Practice,' which many who read these pages may be interested to know was greatly admired and constantly used by one who in depth of piety and learning and in soundness of churchmanship was, to say the least, not a whit behind the author—Walter Farquhar Hook, sometime dean of Chichester.

Henry King, 1642–1669.—Into the details of Henry King's life before he became bishop of Chichester, or into a critical examination of his poems, there would be little need for me to enter, even if it fell within the legitimate scope of this work. Everything relating to his history has been most carefully and completely sifted and arranged in an excellent biographical notice prefixed to an edition of his poems prepared in 1843 by Dr. Hannah, now vicar of Brighton. It will suffice, therefore, to mention here that he was the son of John King, bishop of London; that he was educated at Westminster and Christchurch, where he was distinguished for his poetical and musical

[1] Wood's *Athenæ*.

abilities as well as for piety and amiability of disposition; that he became a chaplain of James I., archdeacon of Colchester, canon residentiary of St. Paul's, a canon of Christchurch, and chaplain to Charles I.; and that he was the loving and beloved friend of his predecessor, Duppa, Dr. Donne, and Isaak Walton. The latter ranked him with Duppa as one of 'those men in whom there was such a commixture of general learning, of natural eloquence, and Christian humility that they deserve a commemoration by a pen equal to their own which none have exceeded.'

He was promoted to the deanery of Rochester in February 1638, which he occupied until his elevation to the see of Chichester in 1642, on the translation of his friend Duppa to Salisbury.[1]

The heart of the bravest and stoutest might well have quailed and shrunk from the perils of a bishopric at such a crisis. The Bill had passed depriving bishops of their votes in the Upper House. Strafford had fallen, Laud was in prison waiting his doom, and twelve other prelates had just been imprisoned for protesting against the loss of their rights as peers, when Juxon, the bishop of London, in his chapel at Fulham, on February 6, assisted by his brethren of Winchester, Rochester, and Worcester, consecrated Henry King to Chichester, and Thomas Winniffe to Lincoln. Charles had been determined to fill up these and several other vacant sees in spite of the earnestly expressed wish of the House that the appointments might be delayed until a settled government in religion had been established in the kingdom. Francis Rous, one of the chief speakers in favour of delay, was, however, careful to say that he had not a word of complaint to utter against the persons elected; he only deprecated the

[1] Wood's *Athenæ*.

expediency of making any appointments at all at the present juncture.

The king, of course, was inflexible, and all the vacancies which had occurred since the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640 were filled up. Four were filled by translation. Skinner of Bristol was moved to Oxford, Duppa was sent to Salisbury from Chichester, Williams from Lincoln to York, Hall from Exeter to Norwich. This left five sees still open. Prideaux was appointed to Worcester 1641, Brownrigg to Exeter May 1642, Westfield to Bristol, and, as we have seen, Winniffe to Lincoln, and King to Chichester February 1642.[1]

Like his predecessors, Montagu and Duppa, King was presented to the rich rectory of Petworth, to be held in commendam with his bishopric, in order to eke out its impoverished income. His curate was Oliver Whitby, who being a loyalist was often in danger of his life from the fury of fanatics; one of whom shot at him with a pistol while he was preaching in Petworth pulpit, but missed him, upon which, to 'avoid further danger,' says Wood, 'he escaped to a poor house nigh Petworth, and lived there six months privately, but being discovered by the rebels he was forced to take his lodging several days in a hollow tree which the old woman had showed him, and there fed by her a long time on a pretence of her going to gather wood.' He lived in great want till the Restoration, and was then made prebendary of Chichester.

The bishop was, of course, deprived of his living in 1643, and it was bestowed by the Parliament on the fanatical Francis Cheynell, who will presently come before us in connexion with Chillingworth's death at Chichester.

Up to 1642 Sussex as a whole had been favourable to the royal cause.

[1] Collier.

Much money had been voluntarily subscribed for the support of the king's army against the Scotch in 1640, and 640 foot and 80 horse had been sent to join the royal force. The clergy contributed 985*l.* 16*s.*

But in February 1642 the general cry of discontent was swelled by a petition to Parliament sent up from Sussex praying for 'a thorough reformation in religion.' When the inevitable war at last broke out in the autumn of that memorable year,[1] Arundel and Chichester were in the hands of opposite sides. Arundel, as well as the neighbouring towns of Portsmouth and Winchester, was held by the royalists, but Chichester, under the influence principally of a wealthy brewer named Cawley, the son of an alderman of the city, adhered to the Parliament.

After the battle of Edgehill (October 23), when Charles advanced his army as far as Kingston and Brentford, and even pushed on scouts to Hyde Park, the southern counties began to get seriously alarmed. An ordinance was passed for combining the forces in the four counties of Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, under the command of Sir William Waller. There was a great dread, the parliamentary journal informs us, in Chichester of the royal army, the people having heard of great cruelty and plundering perpetrated by it at Brentford and other places. 'Such was the care of the townsmen,' says the journal, 'yea, and of the cathedral men too, that they put themselves in armes, and out of their subscribed monies maintained a considerable strength.'

They had good cause to be alarmed, for some of the most influential men in the West end of the county were

[1] The royal standard was raised at Nottingham on August 22nd.

[2] Cawley took the covenant June 6, 1643, the same day that John Selden and Oliver Cromwell signed it. On February 16, 1645, he was empowered by Parliament to pay 100*l.* a year to each of 'three able preaching ministers' out of the estates of the Dean and Chapter.

staunch royalists, and were at this time scheming to get possession of Chichester. The chief leaders in the design were Sir Edward Bishopp of Parham, Sir William Morley of Halnaker, Sir John Morley of Broomes, Sir Edward Ford of Up Park (the High Sheriff), Sir Thomas Bowyer of Mundham, Richard May of Rawmere in Mid Lavant, and others. Within the walls of the city the bishop and the Recorder Christopher Lewknor were ready to welcome them if they could effect an entrance. By a concerted movement on November 22 the several forces got together by these royalists succeeded in seizing the seven pieces of ordnance which the mayor had brought in from Portsmouth, got possession of the city keys and imprisoned some 200 of the militia introduced for the defence of the town.

The Parliament became anxious, for it was informed that Sussex was 'in a great combustion and that there was some thousands of the papists and malignants in the county gathered together in Chichester, it being also reported that a great number of the cavaliers are come in thither to assist the array men in opposing the ordinances of Parliament.' The Parliament therefore now bestirred itself in good earnest to regain lost ground in Sussex, and to put a stop to the progress of the enemy. Captain Springet was made a deputy lieutenant of the county, and he and other captains of the county were thanked for their zeal in raising forces and desired to go on with all vigour and resolution. The House would take care that they should have assistance from them to settle the peace of the county. On December 7 they ordered that all such persons as had been apprehended or imprisoned by his majesty's order in Sussex for refusing to obey the commissioners of array should be preserved from all injury, and whosoever should go about to prosecute against them

or otherwise molest them for the same should be accounted enemies to the State and Commonwealth. Orders were also issued to seize the high sheriff, Sir Edward Ford, to contribute money, and to accept any repentant deserters so as they were not papists or delinquents.

Meanwhile Sir William Waller and Col. Browne were steadily advancing, and by the middle of December the capture of Farnham with its episcopal castle, and Winchester left them free to move upon Sussex. They took Arundel by surprise, and then turned upon Chichester, which was discouraged by the fall of that neighbouring and much stronger fortress. Clarendon says, the 'city was encompassed with a very good old wall easy to be fortified,' but soon after Waller and Sir W. Lewis had invested the place they informed the Parliament that they 'find the wall of no great strength to hold out long.'

From Sir William Waller's own narrative of the siege,[1] in his despatch to Parliament, we learn that on the first day, as soon as he came before the city, the enemy sallied forth to give him a welcome, but was immediately beaten back into the Fort. Sir William then took up his quarters on a 'Downe called the Broils, the only commanding ground about the towne.' The rest of the day was employed in mounting their battery on the Broyle, the ordnance from the town 'playing liberally among them.' The besieged were then summoned to surrender on certain conditions, but after a 'long expectation the answer was, the termes were so strict that no man of honour could accept them.' Accordingly next day Waller's batteries opened fire, but his 'canoniers overshot the town extremely;' on the third and fourth days the cannon were brought nearer, and the suburbs of Westgate were secured, but the besieged threw fire among the houses,

[1] Copied in *Jehovah Jireh*, by Vicars, a fanatical partisan of the Parliament.

and kindled such a conflagration that Waller's troops had to retreat again. They succeeded, however, in planting some cannon at Northgate, which played through the gate into the very market-place. Some troops from Arundel took up a position the same night by Southgate, though 'not without a warm skirmish,' and soon afterwards the suburbs of Eastgate also were secured, and 'there from a Church' (no doubt St. Pancras) 'they galled the enemy extremely.' This was on Saturday, the fifth day of the siege.

On Monday they determined to make a vigorous and simultaneous attack on the East and West Gates, and also 'to petard a backe gate that opened out of the Deanery through the Town Walls into the fields and was walled up a single brick thick.'[1] This assault, however, had hardly begun when a trumpeter came out of the city, bringing a request from the besieged that the next morning, to prevent further bloodshed, some terms of agreement might be debated. To this Waller willingly acceded, and after considerable parleying, the besieged surrendered by 7 o'clock on the morning of the eighth day, Dec. 29th, on a promise of quarter and honourable usage. 'And thus,' Sir William Waller ends his letter, 'we were fully and peaceably masters of the citie of Chichester, praised be the Lord for it.'

The conquerors first released those whom the royalists had imprisoned, and seized the bishop, gentlemen, and other chief cavaliers to the number of eighty. Sir Edward Ford, the high sheriff, soon obtained a release

[1] When the foundations were being dug a few years ago for a new house in Canon Lane now occupied by Canon Ashwell, a small cannon-ball was found which no doubt was shot in at this time, Mr. Ashwell's house being about fifty yards due north of the little door out of the Deanery garden. The ball stands on Mr. Ashwell's hall-table labelled with the inscription, 'Presented by Sir W. Waller to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, December 1642.'

through the interest of his brother-in-law Ireton. The Morleys, uncle and nephew, and Sir Thomas Bowyer of Leythorn, May of Rawmere, and the Gunters of Racton were all heavily fined. The Manor House of Lewkner, the recorder, at West Dean, was plundered and demolished.

The bishop was of course one of the principal captives, and he was designated by a fanatical writer of the day [1] as a 'proud prelate as all the rest are, and a most pragmatical malignant against the Parliament, as all his catercapt companions also are'; and in another place he is called as 'bad as the worst;' language utterly at variance with trustworthy accounts of his character.

The dean Bruno Ryves was fined £120 and of course deprived of his emoluments. He lived to become dean of Windsor under Charles II., and he employed his leisure during the commonwealth in writing some account of the war,[2] to which we are indebted for a curious description of the sack of the Cathedral by Waller's troops. 'The next day,' *i.e.* after the surrender, 'their first business was to plunder the Cathedral church. They left not so much as a cushion for the pulpit, nor a chalice for the blessed Sacrament. The commanders having in person executed the covetous part of sacrilege they leave the destructive and spoyling part to be finished by the common soldiers. As they broke down the organ and dashed the pipes with their poleaxes they cried out in scoff, 'Harke how the organs goe!'

The altar and communion rails were demolished, and the table of commandments broken into 'small shivers.' The leaves of the books were torn out and scattered about. Bishop Sherburne's pictures of the bishops and kings were defaced, but the gowns and surplices were

[1] Vicars, author of *Jehovah Jireh*. [2] *Mercurius Rusticus* (Bodleian).

reserved for secular uses. A solemn thanksgiving for the victory was held in the Cathedral, and after the sermon 'they ran up and down the church with their swords drawn defacing the monuments, hacking and hewing the seats and stalls, scratching and scraping the painted walls, Sir W. Waller and the rest of the commanders standing by, as spectators and approvers of these impious barbarities.' The subdeanery church in the North Transept was ransacked in like manner, 'the chalice broken into bits for division of spoil, and the Bible marked in divers places with a black cole.' One of the soldiers picked out the eyes from an image of Edward the VI., saying that he and his Prayer Book were the cause of all this mischief. Meanwhile Sir Arthur Haselrigg, having learned through the treachery of one of the officers of the church where more of the plate was concealed, brought some of his men up with 'crowes of iron into the Chapter House, and directed them to break down the wainscot about the room. As the work went on, he cried out, "There, boys, there, boys, hearke, hearke, it rattles, it rattles!" His tongue was not enough to express his joy; it was operative at his very heels by dancing and skipping. Marke what music it is lawful for a puritan to dance to.'[1]

From the same writer and from Walker, in his 'Sufferings of the Clergy,' we learn the fate of some of the principal members of the chapter. The precentor, who was at Exeter, was seized by the Earl of Stamford, a violent man whose naturally hot temper was inflamed by

[1] This description proves that the room over the Sacristy, now used as a muniment room and formerly as the bishop's consistory court, was at the time of the siege the Chapter House: for in this room there is a sliding panel which conceals the entrance into a dark chamber over the South Porch, in which no doubt the plate had been concealed.

an 'after dinner.' The poor precentor almost died of the barbarous treatment he received. Amongst other things, being suspected of acting as a spy in spite of his denial of the charge, emetics were given him to make him vomit the papers which it was supposed he might have swallowed.

The chancellor, Dr. J. Marsh, managed to escape to the king at Oxford. His living of Cuckfield was sequestered.

Of the canons, the most eminent were William Oughtred, prebendary of Heathfield, and John Gregory, prebendary of Bracklesham.

Oughtred was a first-rate mathematician, and had offers of a home and emolument in Italy, France, and Holland, but preferred living on in his own country, hoping for better times; and when they came, the shock of delight was too much for him. On learning the news of the vote at Westminster, passed May 1st, 1660, for the Restoration of Charles II., he 'expired in a sudden extasy of joy, in the 86th year of his age.'

Gregory was a prodigy of multifarious learning. He was wont to spend 16 out of the 24 hours in study, and had acquired an exact knowledge for that day of Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldee, in addition to Latin and Greek, and most of the modern languages. He was deeply versed in Rabbinical and Talmudical lore, and skilled also in astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic, besides having some knowledge of chymistry, and the coins, weights and measures, customs and proverbs of foreign countries. Selden as well as Laud had recourse to him for information as a kind of living encyclopædia. Bishop Duppa had made him prebendary of Sarum as well as Chichester, but he was of course deprived of both prebends. He lived and died in great poverty and obscurity in an alehouse on

Kidlington Green, near Oxford, whither his body was taken for interment by some of his friends.[1]

The estates of the bishop were ordered to be forthwith sequestrated, by a resolution of the House, passed June 27, 1643. He sent up a petition for delay, but it was rejected on the 3rd of October following.[2]

Most of his time, during the Commonwealth, was spent, first at the house of his brother-in-law, Sir Richard Hobart, of Langley, near Eton, Bucks, and afterwards at Richkings, a house near Langley, belonging to Lady Salter, who seems to have been a sister of Bishop Duppa. Several members of Bishop King's family also found a hospitable refuge here, and a welcome addition was soon afterwards made to their company, in the person of John Hales, 'one of the least men in the kingdom, but one of the greatest scholars in Europe,' who was turned out of his fellowship at Eton for refusing to sign the engagement required of all who retained any office, that they would be faithful to the government as then established. Hales acted as chaplain to the little community at Richkings, as long as they were permitted to use the liturgy of the Church of England.[3]

From the bishop's will, drawn up in 1653, it appears that most of his library had been taken from him after the capture of Chichester, 'Item I give my bookes, being now a small remainder of a large library taken from me at Chichester, contrary to the condition and contracte of the general and counsell of warre, at the taking of that citie, to my son John.'

One more great name, in some respects the greatest

[1] Walker's *Suff. of the Clergy.*
[2] *Journals of House of Commons*, iii. 148, 262.
[3] Wood. *Athen. Oxon.*

of all, must close the list of those who suffered in the siege of Chichester.

William Chillingworth was skilled not only in theological but also in military tactics, especially in the department of engineering. In the beginning of the war, Calamy informs us,[1] 'He was with the Earl of Essex, and also with him at Cornwall. He showed himself a person of great strength and undaunted courage. At the siege of Gloucester he invented engines after the manner of the Romans, *testudines cum pluteis*, which ran upon cart-wheels, with a blind or planks, musket-proof, and holes for four musqueteers to play out of, placed on the axle-tree and carrying a bridge before it. The wheels were to fall into the ditch, and the end of the bridge to rest upon the town's breastwork, so making several complete bridges to enter into the city.'

Chillingworth had accompanied Hopton in his march to Arundel, and was made prisoner of war when the castle was captured by Waller. The excessive cold of the season, together with the hardships which he had suffered on the march with Hopton's troops, had so much broken his health, that he was unable to go to London with the other prisoners, and was therefore conveyed to Chichester. This favour he owed to one of his bitterest adversaries, Francis Cheynell, a presbyterian divine, who got him comfortably lodged in the bishop's palace, and frequently visited him during his illness, until his death, at the end of January 1643, about a month after his coming to Chichester.

He was buried in the south walk of the cloisters, where a tablet is fixed to the wall over his grave with his name and the words 'Nec sensit damna sepulchri.' Cheynell rewarded himself for his charitable care of

[1] *Account of Ejected Ministers.*

Chillingworth in his last illness, by a violent invective delivered over the grave at his funeral. He brought a copy of Chillingworth's celebrated work, 'The Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way to Salvation,' and flung it into the grave upon the body of the author, crying, 'Get thee gone then, thou cursed book, which hast seduced so many precious souls; get thee gone, thou corrupt, rotten book! earth to earth, and dust to dust! Get thee gone to the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author and see corruption. So much for the burial of his errors. Touching the burial of his corpse, I need say no more than this: It will be most proper for men of his persuasion to commit the body of their deceased friend, brother, master, to the dust; and it will be most proper for me to hearken to the counsel of my Saviour, "Let the dead bury their dead, but go thou and preach the kingdom of God;" and so I went from the grave and preached on that text to the congregation.'[1] After this display of fanatical rage, few will be curious to know what his sermon was like.

[1] *Life of Chillingworth*, by Des. Maireaux.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHURCH IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES—BISHOP GUNNING—HIS ADVENTURES AS A ROYALIST—HIS PART IN THE SAVOY CONFERENCE—BISHOP BRIDEOAKE—HIS PLIABILITY—BISHOP CARLETON AN ARDENT ROYALIST—HIS ADVENTURES—HIS LETTER ABOUT THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH'S VISIT TO CHICHESTER—BISHOP LAKE—HIS HIGH CHARACTER—HIS TRIAL WITH SIX OTHER BISHOPS—A NON-JUROR—FRANCIS HARE—HIS ABILITY AND LEARNING—NOTICE OF THE CATHEDRAL DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Bishops.	Accession. A.D.	In temporary overeigns.
Peter Gunning	1670	Charles II.
Ralph Brideoake	1675	Charles II.
Guy Carleton	1678	Charles II.
John Lake	1685	James II.
Simon Patrick	1689	William and Mary.
Robert Grove	1691	William and Mary.
John Williams	1696	William and Mary. Anne.
Thomas Manningham	1709	Anne. George I.
Thomas Bowers	1722	George I.
Edward Waddington	1724	George I. George II.
Francis Hare	1731	George II.
Matthias Mawson	1740	George II.
William Ashburnham	1754; died, 1798.	George II. George III.

THE memorials of our see after the Restoration may be compressed into a narrow compass. The principles of our Church were declared at the Savoy Conference, in 1661, and though the teaching and practice fell infinitely lower than the standard during a long period, the standard itself has remained unchanged, and nearly all the

conflicts and controversies since the great religious revival of the present century have arisen out of the efforts of one party to raise the Church to the level of doctrine and ceremonial marked out for her in 1661, and of another party to keep her below it.

Thus, in the period covered by the present chapter, there is, on the part of the Church as a whole, no great religious movement to record. There were some able, active, learned, and pious men, alike in the highest and lowliest offices of the Church, but the body as a whole was in a stationary—it must be feared too often retrograde —condition, and hence the lives, even of the most eminent prelates, are interesting and instructive rather as the biographies of the individual men than as parts of the general history of the Church. This is increasingly true as we advance into the 18th century; my notice, therefore, of the bishops who occupied our see during that period will be for the most part very brief.

Bishop King survived the Restoration nine years, but beyond a memorandum that he repaired the Cathedral and the Palace I have found no record of his administration at this time. His successor,

Peter Gunning — 1670–1675 — was a consistent, though not extreme, High Churchman and Royalist, from the beginning to the end of his career. He was the son of Peter Gunning, vicar of Hoo, in Kent, and was educated first at the free school, Canterbury. When 15 years old he was sent to Clare Hall, Cambridge, and was elected Fellow in 1632, at the age of 19. 'From his first admittance,' Wood says, 'he was very much in the eye of all the university, as having been never wanting in any kind of exercise, either grave or jocose, as also noted for one whose extraordinary parts, and indefatigable industry and study, promised great things.'

After the outbreak of the Civil War he preached vehemently against the covenant at Cambridge, and also in Kent, when paying a visit to his mother there. On this occasion he incited by his eloquence some of his congregation to carry assistance to the king's forces at Tunbridge, in consequence of which he was hunted about and at last captured and imprisoned by the Parliamentarians. He seems, however, to have been soon at large again, though turned out of his Fellowship for steadfastly refusing to take the covenant. In 1644 he and his friend, Isaac Barrow, afterwards bishop of St. Asaph, made their way to Oxford, then the head-quarters of the king, and were made chaplains of New College by Dr. Robert Pink, the warden. Gunning also acted as curate to the vicar of Cassington, near Oxford, for two years, and was often basely insulted when officiating in the church, and sometimes dragged out of it by parliamentarian soldiers from Abingdon. He sometimes preached before the king at Oxford, and was made a B.D. the day before Oxford surrendered to the Parliament. After acting as tutor to Christopher Hatton and Sir Francis Compton, and chaplain to Sir Robert Shirley, who settled £100 a year on him for life, he took up his abode in London, and in the Chapel of Exeter House, in the Strand, boldly read the English Liturgy, administered the sacraments, and preached to as many as were courageous enough to come. Besides these his labours, for which he was often reproved by Cromwell, but seemingly not further restrained, he was accustomed on week days to carry on public disputations with the chief leaders of manifold sects, Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, Quaker, Brownist.

The skill which he displayed, and the experience which he gained in these contests, marked him out for

selection in the Savoy Conference, in 1661, as the divine best qualified to cope with Richard Baxter. He had been already promoted immediately after the Restoration to a canonry in Canterbury, the masterships of Corpus Christi and St. John's Colleges, and to the Margaret Professorship of Divinity. The combat between him and Baxter was considered a miracle of subtle dialectical fencing, but like most theological disputes was barren of any practical results.[1]

Burnet disparages Gunning unfairly; indeed, he confesses he could not understand him. He allows that he was a man of much learning and true piety, but says 'his ideas were so confused and subtle that I could never learn anything in all the time that ever I conversed with him.' That there was some obscurity in his style is probably true, as the king once ungallantly said that the reason why ladies delighted in hearing him was because they could not understand a word he said. But there seems no foundation for Burnet's accusation that Gunning was 'much set on reconciling the Church with popery in some points;' indeed, he contradicts himself by saying almost directly afterwards, that he 'was for conforming in all things to the rules of the primitive Church.'[2]

One incident illustrating the bishop's shrewd practical sense must be related. When Gunning was bishop of Ely a fanatical gentleman who had a good estate in the diocese, went about preaching that the world would come to an end within the year. He had of course a large following of idle and superstitious people. The bishop invited him to a conference, which was accepted. He offered the preacher *two* years' purchase for his estate;

[1] Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* vol. iv. p. 140. Walker's *Sufferings of Clergy.*
[2] *Hist. of My own Times*, i. 181 and 436.

but the enthusiast demanded twenty. He soon lost his congregation.[1]

In the epitaph of Bishop Gunning at Ely, it is stated that his disputations with the sectarian leaders were sometimes carried on in the presence of Cromwell himself. '*Coram ipsum Cromwellum* concionibus, etc., publice asseruit.'[2]

Ralph Brideoake, 1675–1678.—There is nothing in the history of this bishop which demands any lengthened notice. He seems to have adapted himself to the political vicissitudes of his day with remarkable pliancy. He was a Lancashire man, master at one time of Bishop Oldham's free school in Manchester, and chaplain to Lord Derby. In this capacity he was present in the memorable siege of the earl's house at Latham. He interceded for his patron's life after he had been captured at the battle of Worcester, and though unsuccessful in his pleading, was so far from sharing in his fate, that the speaker Lenthall made him his chaplain and preacher at the Roll's Chapel, and gave him the rich living of Whitney near Oxford, where we are told he 'preached twice every Lord's day, and in the evening catechised the youth in his own house, outvying in labour and vigilancy any of the godly brethren in those parts.' He attended Lenthall on his deathbed, and heard his confession of remorse at the execution of the king. In 1659 he was made one of the commissioners by act of parliament for the approbation and admission of ministers after the presbyterian mode. In spite of this, however, we find him immediately after the Restoration rapidly promoted; canon of Windsor, 1660, and rector of Standish in Lancashire; in 1667 dean of Salisbury. He held the canonry and the living in commendam with

[1] *Lives of Bishops from the Reformation to the Revolution*, Oct. 1783.
[2] Bentham's *Hist. of Ely*.

the bishopric of Chichester. His death occurred suddenly in the middle of a visitation of his diocese. He was buried in Bray's Chapel, Windsor. A large effigy of him in Pontificalibus, cut out of one piece of alabaster, is placed upon his tomb. The epitaph is not quite veracious, for it states that he was 'exsule Carolo II., bonis omnibus mulctatus.'[1]

Guy Carleton, 1678–1685.—If Brideoake prospered by his facile conformity to each order of polity in its turn, Carleton, on the other hand, rose through his warm and inflexible devotion to the fortunes of the house of Stuart. Whether he was in any way connected with the family of his namesake and forerunner in the see, George Carleton, I have not discovered, but he was at any rate born in the same region, being a native of Bramston Foot in Gilsland, Cumberland. He was educated at the free school, Carlisle, and was sent as a servitor to Queen's College, Oxford, where he became fellow, and in 1635 was made a proctor to the University. He threw himself heartily into the king's cause when the war broke out, and was literally a good cavalier, for he was an excellent horseman. He was of course ejected by the presbyterian visitors called 'Triers' from two livings which he held, and was at one time captured and imprisoned in Lambeth House. He managed, however, to effect his escape. His wife conveyed a cord to him by which he was to let himself down from a window, and then make for a boat on the Thames, got ready to take him off. The rope was too short, and he broke some of his bones in dropping to the ground, but succeeded in getting to the boat, which took him to a place of concealment, where he lay till he recovered, in a state of such destitution that his wife had to sell some of her clothes, and

[1] Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* iv. 859.

work for their daily food. At last they succeeded in crossing the water, and joined the exiled king.

On the Restoration he was immediately made dean of Carlisle. He was appointed bishop of Bristol in 1671, and thence was translated to our see in 1678, but did not enjoy so high a reputation either for learning or goodness as his namesake George Carleton in the reign of James I.[1] The only personal record of him which I have discovered is a curious letter to the Primate Sancroft, written to correct some false reports about a visit paid by the duke of Monmouth in 1679 to Chichester, and to vindicate his own conduct on the occasion.

In January 1679 the parliament which had sat since 1661 was dissolved. It was a crisis of great national agitation and alarm. The tale of Titus Oates about a deep-laid Jesuit plot against the Throne and the church had got a firm hold on the minds of the people. The queen was suspected, the duke of York openly hated. The parliament had insisted on a test which excluded Roman Catholic lords from taking their seats in the house; the commons had voted an address to the king on the growth of popery. In this state of panic and ferment it was not difficult for the king's natural son, the dissolute, but clever, handsome, and fascinating duke of Monmouth, to become the popular hero. It was even supposed to be discovered that he had been born in wedlock, and that his claim to the throne was stronger than that of his uncle the duke of York. Men were ready to believe what they wished to be true. Monmouth made a kind of royal progress through the country, and was courted and welcomed with extravagant demonstrations of honour wherever he went.[2] The letter from Bishop Carleton to

[1] Wood's *Athen.* iv. 866.

[2] See Macaulay, *Hist.* i. 251, etc.

the primate, giving a description of the duke's reception at Chichester, is as follows:[1]—

Most reverend Father, and my most honoured Lord.

By the several relations even in this toune and the country adjacent and both very fals and various I beg leave to give your grace a true accompt of the Duke of Monmouth's arrival and reception into the city of Chichester, upon Satterday February 7th. The Elector-General Grey for so is his title in this country went out to bring him into the city attended with broken shop-keepers, butchers, carpenters, smiths and such like people to the number of fifty or threescore. The Duke was in a scarlet sute, and cloak, which the great men for petitioning for a parliament call'd the Red Flagg to let see beforehand what our doome would be ere long; and had the reception rested there no other could be expected from such a rabble of brutes. But the great men of our Cathedrall welcomed him with belles, and bonfires made by wood had from their houses to flare before his lodgings, personal visits made to him, complemented at the lighting from his horse, with all that was in their houses proffered to his service. Dr. Edes (the Precentor) that night officiated as his Chaplane, supped with him, and herded himself there with such companie as no man that had a loyal harte towards the King, or bene really a cordiall sonn of the Church of England would have bene amongst.

The next day Dr. Edes went to his lodging, caused the way to be swept, though the weather was drie enough and conducted him to the Church from the Cloyster into the Quier. He was ushered into the Deane's seat with a voluntarie upon the organ. Before sermon a part of the 1st Psalm was ordered to be sung 'He shal be like the tree that growes, fast by river syde,' etc. The Anthem made choice of at evening prayer was the slaughter of King Saul and his people upon the mountains of Gilboa, but not a word I warrant you of the 'Kinges enimies to perish' or that upon his head his crown might long flourish: these were apocryphal anthems when the commonwealth saints appear'd amongst us. In these bell and bonfire solemnities I would not joyne nor goe

[1] *Tanner MS. Bodleian*, 384.

to give him personal visites. I thought it did ill become clergiemen of all others to open our armes so wide with acclamations of joy to imbrace a man that lay under the Duke of Monmouth's circumstances at this tyme, a person that was highly under the King's displeasure for *its* (*sic*) obstinate perseverance in disobedience to his sovereigne, and that kept no companie here, but known enimies to the King and his government. I was mightily blamed, cried out upon and condemned for not doing all homage imaginable to so excellent a person as the D. of M. was. I told them if he deserted that raskel companie that flockt to him, and would returne to that obedience and loyalty he owed his father and his soveraigne then no man should honour him more than I should doe, but till this were done I would never think him worthy of honour from any good man or loyall subject. Whether in doinge this I cannot tell whether I failed in the pointe of manners, but I thinke I did not and I am sure I did not in mine affection and loyalty to the Kinge my Master. But, my Lord, since I would not bow the knee to the people's Idol, when it was dark a clubb companie of these zealous brethren were sent to my house to demand wood to make bonfires for the Duke of Monmouth, as they said the other clergiemen had already done of their own accord. Some of my servants answered them, that their master had other uses to put his wood to, whereupon with a shout they said the Bishop was an old Popish rogue—and all the people in his familie were rogues and thieves and they should meet with him ere long. Then they shott three tymes into my house and seconded that violence with a shower of stones so thick that our servants thought they would have broke in and cut our throats. Neither the Maior of this city nor any gentleman (and there are diverse of them and persons of good quality that live in it) went out to meet the Duke, nor hath ever since come to visit him, or any gentleman in the country about us hath so much as met him in the field to hunt with him since he came, save Mr. Butler of Amberly, a burgess with Mr. Garroway for Arundell, and his brother-in-law Rooper.

I must not forget to tell your Grace a passage between the D. and the honest maior of Chichester, Mr. Jennings.

It is a custome in this city when great persons come to town

to present them with something or other: so after the Duke had been some time in toune a day or two, as I had the story the Maior and Aldermen sent him some wine and gave him a visit. The D. told the Maior he look'd like a young man. No Sir, said the Maior, I am no young man, for I bore armes for the late king in his armie against his enemyes in the last Rebellion and I doe remember that they began that Rebellion much as they are now about to doe by petitioning the king for a Parliament. What said the D. would you not have the people petition the king for a Parliament to sit? No said the Maior by no means when the king hath put forth his proclamation to the contrarie. Why then said the D. you would not have a parliament to sitt? Yes said the maior by all means, but only when the King pleases, and not till then.

. . . . . .

Your grace as a privie counseller knows what use to make of these passages, whose pardon he heartily begs for trespassing so long upon your patience who must ever acknowledge himself your Grace's most obliged servant.

G. CHICHESTER.

Chichester, Feb. 17th, 1670.

The passage to which the bishop alludes as more especially valuable to a privy councillor is one omitted here for brevity, in which he says that three gentlemen had been overheard talking in an inn at Midhurst, about the prorogation of parliament, and that one of them had said, 'Well, for all this the sword shall be drawn before May-day, and I care not if the king stood by and heard me.'

Bishop Carleton was eighty-three when he wrote this long letter, and lived six years more, dying in 1685.

John Lake, 1685–1689.—The name of John Lake must be dear to all who love their church and their country, and who are thankful that the liberty of both were maintained by the intrepid resistance of him and six of his episcopal brethren to the artful designs of an unconstitutional king. The petition of the seven bishops

against the declaration of indulgence, whereby James II. hoped to induce Romish and protestant dissenters to coalesce against the church and constitution of his realm; the imprisonment of the bishops, their trial, their acquittal by a patriotic jury; the tumultuous demonstration of joy with which they were everywhere received after their release; these are events too memorable, too amply and brilliantly described elsewhere,[1] to need any repetition in these pages.

The loyal devotion of men like Lake to the Stuart dynasty renders their conduct the more admirable and noble in declining to obey the representative of that dynasty which they honoured and loved, rather than sacrifice the interests of their country and their church which they honoured and loved still better. For Lake was a thorough cavalier. He was a native of Halifax in Yorkshire, entered St. John's College, Cambridge, in his thirteenth year, and took his B.A. just about the time when the house was made a prison for the royalists of the University. Lake effected his escape, joined the king's army at Oxford, accepted a commission, and distinguished himself by his valour in the brave though vain defence of Basing House and Wallingford Castle. After about four years' service he retired from the army, and having taken holy orders he was instituted, but not without great opposition, to the vicarage of Leeds. He was the first vicar of Leeds who became a bishop, an honour which though denied to the greatest vicar of Leeds, Walter Farquhar Hook, has been conferred on more than one of his successors in that office, which he first raised to such importance as to be deemed worthy of men fit for bishoprics.

After the Restoration, Lake was soon promoted to St.

[1] *Macaulay*, vol. ii. ch. 8.

Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in 1668, to Prestwich in Cheshire, in 1670, and to a canonry in York in the same year. After the accession of his friend Sancroft to the primacy, he was through his recommendation appointed to the bishopric of Sodor and Man in 1682, and of Bristol in 1684. He was sent on the first alarm of Monmouth's rebellion to conciliate the gentry of the western counties, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the insurgents.

Though inflexible in his principles, he was well fitted for the office of peacemaker, for he is described by his biographer as of 'an extraordinary courteous and generous temper, always affable and easy of access, free and cheerful in his conversation, full of meekness and condescension. . . . He was so prudent and so successful in all the wise and kind methods of gaining upon obstinate men, that the worst enemies of episcopacy were oftentimes reconciled to the order for his sake. He was always popular, though he never made it his business to be so. . . . and he was obliging to all, yet durst displease even his friends, when God and religion were the cause. . . . He was always exceedingly dear to the gentlemen of Sussex, who met him in several parts of his diocese with that respect which was wont to be paid to the primitive bishops; and they were no less dear to him; but his coming to them after his release from his trial was like the return from banishment of St. Athanasius or St. Chrysostom.'[1]

Lake and his brethren disobeyed James, in obedience, as they conceived, to the higher mandates of their conscience and their God, and on the same principle they refused to take the oaths of allegiance to King William, because they had sworn allegiance to King James, and

[1] *Life of Lake*, by Robt. Jenkins, his chaplain. Quarto, 1690.

had accepted their bishoprics under his government. We may think their judgment was misled, but none can fail to honour them for obeying their conscience. They were, as is well known, all suspended, and their bishoprics presently given to men who were not perplexed by the same scruples.[1]

After his deprivation, Lake retired to London. He died on August 30 following, aged 66, and was buried in the church of St. Botolph. Three days before his death he dictated to his chaplain, Mr. Jenkins, a declaration of his unswerving conviction of the truth of his principles:—

Being called by a sick, and I think a dying bed, and the good hand of my God upon me in it to take the last and best viaticum, the sacrament of my dear Lord's body and blood, I take upon me to make this short recognition and confession. That whereas I was baptized into the Church of England and sucked it in with my milk, I have constantly adhered to it through the whole course of my life, and now if soe be the will of God, shall die in it, and I had resolved through God's grace assisting me, soe to have died though at a stake. And whereas that Religion taught me the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance . . . I adhere no less firmly and steadily to that, and in consequence of it have incurred a suspension from the exercise (of my office) and expect a deprivation. I find in so doing, much satisfaction, and if the oath had been tendered at the peril of my life I could only have obeyed by suffering.

I desire you, my worthy friends and brethren, to bear wit-

[1] The seven non-juring bishops were, with two exceptions, Lloyd and Frampton, identical with the seven who declined to publish James's Declaration of Indulgence.

The Recusants in 1687.

Sancroft, *Primate.*

Lloyd, St. Asaph	Ken, B. & Wells	White, Peterborough.
Turner, Ely	Lake, Chichester.	Trelawney, Bristol.

Non-Jurors, 1689.

Sancroft, *Primate.*

Lloyd, Norwich	Ken, B. & Wells	White, Peterborough.
Turner, Ely	Lake, Chichester.	Frampton, Gloucester.

ness of this upon occasion, and to believe it, as the words of a dying man, who is now engaged in the most sacred and solemn act of conversing with God in this world, and may for aught he knows to the contrary appear with these very words in his mouth at the dreadful tribunal.' Manu propriâ subscripsi. Johannes Cicestr.[1]

Simon Patrick, 1689–1691.—The history of Lake's successor belongs to Ely, rather than to Chichester, as he only occupied our see two years. He was personally not less brave than his predecessor, either in facing physical danger or in upholding the principles of the church in their integrity; but politically he adhered to the government of William III. He was rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, in 1665, when the plague was raging, and many of his friends exhorted him to seek safety in flight, but he declined. 'Some one,' he writes, 'must be here. 'Is it fit that I should set such a value on myself, as my going away and leaving another will signify? It will, in effect, be to say that *I* am too good to be lost; but it is no matter if another be. It is not to accomplish a martyrdom, as you call it: that is too high a name, but to do a little service to my neighbours, who, I think, would not be so well if I was not here.'

After James had persuaded Lord Rochester to hold a private conference with some Roman Catholic theologians, in the hope that they would convert the earl to popery, Rochester was allowed to name any two Anglican divines, except Tillotson and Stillingfleet, to hold a formal disputation with the Roman Catholics, Bonaventure Giffard, and Godden, the Queen's chaplain and almoner. Rochester selected Patrick and Jane. The earl took a leading part in the discussion himself, and in the end he and his assessors acquitted themselves so well that the mortified

[1] Jenkins.

King declared he had never 'heard a good cause so ill, or a bad cause so well defended.'

Patrick was translated to Ely in 1691, where he wrote his Biblical commentary, which is probably now seldom read, but was once a standard book of reference for the student of Holy Scripture. He died in 1707, aged 82.[1]

The five successors of Bishop Patrick, whose episcopates cover a period of 40 years, must occupy a very small niche in our annals, for they took no eminent part in the politics, civil or ecclesiastical, of the day.[2]

Robert Grove, 1691–1696.—Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge; rector of St. Andrew, Undershaft; canon of St. Paul's; archdeacon of Middlesex. He died in his 63rd year, of injuries received by the overturning of his carriage.

John Williams, 1696–1709.—Chaplain to William III.; prebendary of Canterbury; canon residentiary of St. Paul's.

Thomas Manningham, 1709–1722.—Fellow of New College, Oxford, and one of the Wiccamical prebendaries in Chichester; treasurer of Chichester, 1708; and canon of Windsor in the same year.

Thomas Bowers, 1722–1724.—Son of a Shrewsbury baker; fellow of St. John's, Cambridge; archdeacon of Canterbury, 1713; prebendary, 1715; preferments which he held in commendam with our see.

Edward Waddington, 1724–1731.—Educated at Eton; fellow of King's, Cambridge, and of Eton; he held his Eton fellowship and the rectory of Wexham in commendam with our see. He made considerable repairs in the Episcopal Palace, which had never recovered the

[1] Wood, *Athen.* Bentham's *Ely.* Burnet, *Own Time*, 189. Macaulay, ii. 150.

[2] See *Le Neve*, vol. iii. *Lansd. MSS.* 987–189. *Cole MSS.* (49–301), 311; (1–168) (16–31).

damage done to it in the siege and the time of the Commonwealth.

Francis Hare, 1731–1740.—Of Bishop Hare it is impossible not to say something, but unnecessary to say much. The details of his career have been recorded by one of his descendants, in a book which is in everyone's hands.[1] That he was a man of acute intellect, and considerable though not profound learning, there can be no question; but it cannot be said that he greatly edified the church by either, though for himself he certainly acquired a high reputation and a high position.

Few can derive pleasure or instruction from his controversial papers, written against Bishop Hoadley; fewer still from his sermons preached on Days of Thanksgiving for the Duke of Marlborough's victories, and filled with descriptions of the Duke's campaigns, and panegyrics on his genius.

His tract, printed anonymously, on 'The Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the Study of Holy Scripture,' is the most forcible thing he wrote, so forcible that it begets a strong suspicion in the reader's mind that it is a more genuine representation of the bishop's thoughts and feelings than his performances on behalf of orthodoxy.

His Greek, Latin, and Hebrew scholarship were so good as to tempt him to the publication of an edition of Terence and of the Hebrew Psalms, in which he ventured on theories that brought him into collision with Bentley and Lowth, and proved he was not a match for either of them.

Altogether, Bishop Hare must be ranked amongst

[1] *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, by Augustus J. C. Hare. Francis Hare was chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough; dean of St. Paul's, 1726; bishop of St. Asaph, 1727, of Chichester, 1731. He held his deanery in commendam with both bishoprics.

those men who may be justly called eminent or remarkable rather than great. In range of learning, in fecundity of thought, in brilliancy of expression, he was inferior to his great-grandson, Julius Hare, rector of Hurstmonceaux and archdeacon of Lewes; while in loftiness of moral character he was vastly below both him and his elder brother, Augustus.

Matthias Mawson, 1740–1754.—Educated at St. Paul's, London; master of Benét College, Cambridge, 1724; bishop of Llandaff 1738, Chichester 1746, Ely 1754, where he improved the condition of the Isle of Ely by good suggestions for new roads and embankments. He founded twelve scholarships in Benét College. Died 1771.[1]

Sir William Ashburnham, 1754-1798.—Eldest son of Sir Charles Ashburnham, Bart., of Bromham, in Sussex. Succeeded to the estate 1762. Dean of Chichester 1742, and canon of St. Paul's 1743, which preferment he held in commendam with the see. He died in 1797, in his eighty-eighth year, having been bishop 44 years, the longest episcopate since the foundation of the see.

Having now reached the close of the last century, I bring my notices of the bishops of our see to an end; for the lives of those who have occupied it during this century are too well known through the traditions of the last generation, or through personal knowledge in the present, to need the elucidation of a biographical sketch in these pages.

It only remains to say a few words on the condition of the fabric during the period covered by the last two chapters.

Bishop King exerted himself after his return to his see to repair the damages which, partly by violence, partly through neglect, the Cathedral and his own palace had

[1] Bentham's *Ely*. *Cole's MSS.* vi. 45.

sustained. His predecessor, Duppa, now Bishop of Winchester, subscribed £200 to the work, and his successors Peter Gunning and Ralph Brideoake gave £100 each to carry on what King had begun.

The central tower and spire had always been a source of expense. In 1563 the dèan and chapter obtained leave from the council, to make a sale of their plate for the repair of the steeple. 507 oz. of plate were sold for 5*s*. 1*d*. the ounce, realising about £128. A certain William Phillips of Sarum was paid 13*s*. 4*d*. to view the steeple, and afterwards £22 were paid to the said William for pointing the whole of it. The work took from May 8 to July 31, and the total expense of labour and materials, and of obtaining the license from the council was £126. 19*s*. 8*d*.[1] But the chapter were not yet aware of that rottenness of the piers supporting the tower and spire which brought about the fall of both in one day. The tower which seems to have chiefly exercised their thoughts was the ruined tower at the north-western angle of the church.

In 1684 Sir Christopher Wren was consulted concerning the expediency of rebuilding this tower, which is stated in the account of his examination to have fallen 'about fifty years since,' so it cannot have been, as has been commonly said, knocked down in the siege of 1643. Sir Christopher, after he had 'for about two hours viewed it both without and within, and above and below, and had also observed the great want of repairs, especially in the great west tower,' made his report, in which he proposed to clear away the ruins of the fallen tower, and also to pull down the corresponding tower at the south-western angle, to shorten the nave by one arch, and to substitute 'a fair built west end' of his own design.[2]

[1] *MS. Account Book*, p. 78.

[2] The MS. is by the Precentor Dr. Edes, the same man alluded to in Bishop's Carleton's letter about the reception of the Duke of Monmouth, p. 301.

We may perhaps be thankful that the chapter did not act upon this proposal, and that the restoration of the ruined tower yet remains to be done, although the western towers of Westminster Abbey show that the genius of Wren could in some degree accommodate itself to an uncongenial style.

Money was got together during the 18th century with a view to the restoration of this tower,[1] but it became absorbed in other and more pressing repairs. The settlements in the central tower began to excite alarm early in the century. The arch into the north transept was repaired in 1707, being considered in a dangerous condition. In 1736 the spire was partly rebuilt, in 1813 the upper eleven feet were made good. Altogether about £15,000 were spent on the fabric in the 18th century. These praiseworthy efforts to maintain the building in substantial repair may perhaps be allowed to atone in some measure for the careless and slovenly way in which the interior and precincts seem to have been kept, or rather neglected. In visitation after visitation during the 17th and 18th centuries we hear of intolerable nuisances in the cloisters, heaps of rubbish and nastiness in the west porch, hogs and dogs in the Paradise, and swine kept in the cellar under the Vicar's Common Hall. The bells are most irregularly rung; sometimes they are not rung at all. Permission is given from time to time to different persons to 'build them' pews or galleries in divers parts of the choir till the natural beauty of the building must have been almost hidden behind and beneath those monstrous erections. Some of these remained down to the day when the restoration of the choir was begun, in 1859, and they were removed for ever.

[1] In 1727 there was £700 in hands. Dean's Visitation Book.

The fall of the central tower and spire, which took place in 1861, when this restoration was going on, has been already alluded to and accounted for.

The most minute and trustworthy account of the catastrophe is to be found in the 'Builder' of March 2, 1861, and in Professor Willis's masterly essay on the subject. As these are not within easy reach of many persons, I will conclude this chapter by a few extracts from each, only reminding the reader that the discovery of the rotten condition of the piers was due to the removal of the Arundel shrine or screen, but that the piers were in no way supported by the shrine. 'Centres and shores were put up, and men employed instantly to restore the ruined portions of the piers. Bond stones were inserted as far as practicable, considering the loose and rotten state of the core. . . These works were carried on during the summer and autumn of 1860, but in November it was observed that settlements began in the new work. Old fissures extended themselves into the fresh masonry, and new ones made their appearance. A system of centering to stiffen the arches which connected the western piers with the nave and transepts was now commenced, but before it could be carried out the symptoms of approaching ruin increased and multiplied so fast that there was no time to construct and apply the contemplated framing. Shores were therefore resorted to. But in the next place the walling began to bulge towards the end of January 1861, first in the north-west pier and afterwards in the south. Cracks and fissures, some opening and others closing, and the gradual deformation of the arches in the transept walls and elsewhere indicated that fearful movements were taking place throughout the parts of the walls connected with the western piers, and it was then determined that the bulging of the piers

should be checked by the application of a jacketing of solid timber, powerfully hooped together with iron bolts and bulks of timber.

'The preparation for this work began on Saturday, February the 16th, and the afternoon service was performed in the nave as usual on the following day, but was interrupted by the urgent necessity for shoring up a part of the facing of the south-west pier which had exhibited new symptoms of giving way. The workmen were now employed early and late in desperate attempts to avert the approaching ruin, which was continually heralded by new evidences of weakness. Still, the men went on diligently applying shores, struts, and braces, while the piers were bulging and cracking and failures increasing around them. On Wednesday crushed mortar began to pour from the old fissures, flakes of the facing-stone fell, and the braces began to bend. Yet the workmen continued to add shoring until half-past 3 o'clock in the morning, notwithstanding the violent storm of wind which arose in the evening, and beat first on the north-east side of the church, but as night advanced came with unabated force from the south-west.'

'On Thursday the 21st, before daylight, the work was resumed. Seventy men working with most commendable enthusiasm and courage, under great personal risk, made strenuous efforts to increase the number of shores under and around the tower; for those applied only the night before were bent, and the danger became more and more imminent. The workmen were only induced to quit the building by the inevitable dinner-hour of noon. But by this time the continual failing of the shores showed too plainly that the fall was inevitable. Warning was given to the inhabitants near the building on the south-west, and the workmen returning at 1 o'clock were prevented from

re-entering it. Anxious groups outside the Cathedral enclosure stood gazing at the tower, and in less than half-an-hour the spire was seen to incline slightly to the south-west, and then to descend perpendicularly into the church as one telescope tube slides into another, the mass of the tower crumbling beneath it. The stones and dust from the base of the tower rushed into the nave, choir, and transepts, and rapidly crumbling at the bottom as it descended, the mass subsided in the centre of the church, and the top of the spire, falling at last to the south-west, threw its cap-stone against the abutment of one of the flying buttresses of the nave, and broke itself across another of them intervening.'

'In conclusion,' Professor Willis says, 'I beg to record my opinion that the internal disintegration of the piers of this noble tower had gradually and silently increased to such a degree that no human power could have arrested its fall, and that the evidence of its utter rottenness was developed only when it became too late to apply the remedies that had been found efficient in the middle ages, and in our own time, to sustain such structures. Yet as the measures adopted in the first instance for the repair were those that have been found effectual at Hereford and elsewhere, no blame can be imputed to the authorities or to any of the architects, engineers, or other persons connected with the work.'

It is a comfort to know that the new Tower and Spire have been pronounced by the highest authority, Sir Gilbert Scott, to be among the most solid, and beautifully wrought specimens of masonry in the kingdom.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER

ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE CATHEDRAL BODY.

THE constitution and government of the Cathedral body have been in some degree indicated by the historical sketches of the foregoing chapters; but the subject is a little complex, and I have therefore thought it desirable, even at the risk of some few repetitions, to reserve the last chapter for a more comprehensive survey.

Every cathedral church is, properly speaking, the bishop's church; the church in which his 'cathedra,' or 'sedes,' or 'stool,' as it was called in old English, stood.

The church was planted wherever the first bishop found a home for himself and his clergy, as a starting point for their joint missionary labours. In old English times the neighbourhood of some royal dwelling was naturally selected if the king was favourable to Christianity. Thus the Northumbrian see was fixed at Lindisfarne, partly, no doubt, on account of the proximity of that island to the royal fortress of Bamborough; and our own see was established at Selsey because King Æthelwealh dwelt there. Of the transplantation of sees from the country to the towns as a consequence of the Norman Conquest I have already spoken.[1]

The bishop and his missionary band formed a body

[1] Pp. 37–38.

of which he was the head. Under the shadow of the cathedral they lived. From it some went forth from time to time to evangelise the surrounding country: to it they returned to report the results of their labours and to acquire strength for more by refreshment of body and soul.

Where the community consisted of monks or regulars, the bishop acted originally in the capacity of abbot; the several members lived in one house, with a common dining-hall and dormitory, and all property in land was common to the whole body, for a monk could have no possessions as a private individual. But in a chapter of secular clergy the case was different. No doubt in many instances, especially in the beginning of their existence, they may have lived very much after the manner of a monastic house, but this never could last. The secular clergy were commonly married men. This was a fatal obstacle to a common dining-hall or dormitory; they lived, therefore, in separate houses.[1] Again, the secular priest was not restricted by any rule from holding property like any other subject of the realm. Consequently out of the lands acquired by the bishop and chapter from the kings or other donors, some parts were assigned to members of the chapter as their individual possession. Such members became in legal language 'corporations sole.' The portions thus carved out were called prebends, and the holders thereof prebendaries.

Thus prebendary and canon are only two names of the same person under different aspects, and to talk of making a canon out of a prebendary is mere nonsense. As a member of the corporate body or chapter, he is a

[1] The attempts, as of Gisa at Wells, to make canons conform to the semi-monastic rule framed by Bishop Chrodegang of Metz, were never successful for long in England.

canon; as a corporation sole, as the possessor of a certain prebend which belongs to him and no one else, he is a prebendary.

One inevitable result of this process was that a chapter of Seculars, whatever it may have been at the beginning, became as time went on a far less compact body than a monastic community, for while some members would reside in the cathedral city, others preferred living on their prebends, being very commonly rectors of the parishes in which their prebend was situated. This, too, was the first stage in the process by which the tie between the bishop and the chapter became gradually loosened, so that he who originally was the living, moving head of the whole body sank at last into the position of a mere visitor who was often regarded with feelings of jealousy, dislike, or fear, and had less practical authority in his own church than in any other church of his diocese.

In old English times grants of land were made to the bishop and chapter as to one corporate body, but so early after the Conquest as the date of Domesday Book we find the property of the cathedral church distinguished into three parts: the estates of the bishop, of the chapter collectively, and the separate estates or prebends of the several canons. Nevertheless there was sufficient coherence between the several parts of the system to enable them to work well and usefully together for the good of the diocese. In such canons as were resident the bishop had a body of councillors always at hand to consult on all measures of importance,—a kind of diocesan parliament—and through the non-residents the most distant parts of the diocese were in a manner knit together with the bishop and the cathedral as the central point of all life and action. At first, residence in the cathedral city or on the prebend was optional. The canon divided his time

between the two as he pleased; but, as will presently be shown, the choice of residence soon ceased to be a matter of indifference.

The home government of the chapter was entrusted to certain officials or dignitaries.

In most cathedrals of the Old Foundation, cathedrals, that is, served by secular canons as distinguished from monks, we find the four principal dignities of dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer, created before the close of the twelfth century. At Chichester they were established by Bishop Ralph Luffa about 1115.[1] This completion of the system, however, rendered the chapter less dependent on the bishop, and materially weakened the bond between him and them. The dean, who was commonly elected by the canons, stepped more and more into the place which the bishop had once occupied as president of the body, more especially as the bishop was often absent on secular affairs; and any attempt of his to regain his former footing came to be looked upon as an unwarrantable interference with the liberty of a privileged community.

The national spirit of freedom manifested itself in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries rather in the efforts of separate bodies of men after independence than in any common effort of the nation as a whole. As corporations of towns struggled to emancipate themselves from the power of the central government, as the guilds strove to be independent of both, so did the monastic and collegiate communities aim at obtaining exemption from the authority of bishops. The monasteries as a rule threw themselves on the protection of the popes and perished in the overthrow of papal power in England. The cathedrals which had been served by monks were remodelled in the

[1] *MSS. Lib. E.* and *Le Neve.*

time of Henry VIII., and hence came to be called cathedrals of the New Foundation.

In the cathedrals of the Old Foundation no vital changes were made; the power of the Crown was more prominently asserted in the appointment of deans and canons, but the authority of the bishops remained as it had been, at a low ebb.

We are now in a position to examine more particularly the various phases through which the constitutions of most cathedrals of the Old Foundation passed, as they are illustrated by the history of our own chapter.

It will be clear from what has been already stated that canons had twofold duties, corresponding to their double capacity. They had duties in and to the cathedral as members of the capitular body; they had also duties in and to that prebend which they held as private proprietors. And since men cannot be in two places at once, one duty had to be neglected or a substitute provided. The discharge of duty by deputy raised no scruples or difficulties in the minds of men in mediæval times. *Qui facit per alium facit per se* was regarded as a thoroughly sound maxim; the principle pervaded the whole system of feudal tenure. Benefices, temporal or spiritual, were heaped upon men. The consciences of the donors and of the recipients were satisfied if the duty of the benefice was done by some one provided by the holder.

Hence there became attached to all cathedral chapters which were served by seculars a body of deputies or vicars who did the canon's work when the canon himself was absent. In the complicated ceremonial of the daily services a certain share was allotted to each canon, for the performance of which, either in person or by his vicar, he was responsible. To some stalls priestly functions were assigned, to others diaconal, to others again sub-

diaconal. This was the state of things at Chichester in 1197, the earliest date at which we have any record of statutes.[1]

They were agreed upon in the chapter-house between the bishop, Seffrid II., the dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, the two archdeacons of Chichester and Lewes, and twenty-three canons. The statutes begin by ordaining that the daily distribution of bread to all canons in residence shall be continued as in the days of Bishop Hilary 1147–1174, who bestowed the church lands at Singleton, West Dean, and East Dean, on the chapter, to provide bread for this purpose. Three persons, the treasurer and two canons, were now appointed to receive the revenues of the chapter. All canons who resided and took their proper share in the services were entitled to one shilling week by week in addition to the distribution of bread. If they had not resided the full week, their share was proportionally less. To each vicar threepence a week was to be given, besides the stipend which he received from his master. This stipend was to be a mark annually (13*s.* 4*d.*) if the stall which he served was a priest's stall, half a mark if it was a deacon's, and forty pence if it was a subdeacon's. The vicar occupied his master's house in his absence, and was fed at his expense. The residue of the funds after these distributions was to be dealt with at the discretion of the chapter.

It may be interesting to notice some further ordinances decreed in the time of Bishop Seffrid II. The executors of a deceased canon were to remain undisturbed in his house for eight clear days, during which they were to dispose of all his effects according to his last will, except such benches and tables as were fixed to the walls. On the eighth day the new canon might take possession.

[1] *MSS. Lib. E.*

Canons' houses were not to be occupied by any but canons or their vicars.[1]

The dress of the clergy in the choir was to be uniform; no one was to wear a cope with collars ('gorguris'); all copes were to be cut to a proper measure, and to be worn over a surplice, or rochet. All clergy of the higher rank were to be censed twice at mass; a cross was to be held before the Gospel when it was read in 'pulpits.'[2] What the ordinary proportion between residents and non-residents was at this period we cannot certainly determine, but there can be no question that the number of absentees was considerable. Although they lost their share in the daily distribution of bread, in the weekly distribution of money, and in the divisible residue at the end of the year, yet very many canons preferred living on their prebends, if they were not, as was often the case with men of ability, employed on the business of the State. At any rate, it is certain that the preponderance of vicars in many cathedrals was so great as to be considered a scandal, even in those days, when men were well accustomed to every form of plurality and non-residence, in civil as well as ecclesiastical departments. The chronicler, Richard, of Devizes, declaims with amusing warmth of indignation and satire against Hugh Nonant, bishop of Lichfield, 1188–1198, who had substituted secular canons for monks in the church of Coventry. The secular canon, he says, may be absent from his church whenever he likes, and waste the patrimony of Christ when, where, and how he pleases. Whether the praises of God are shouted through his own lips or through the

[1] These rules were drawn up in 1192. Among the canons present is one Symon, who is designated as 'Son of the Dean.'

[2] This looks as if there were something like the ambones from which the Epistle and Gospel were read to be seen in the old Basilicas.

lips of hirelings, is all one to him. If a poor stranger knocks at the door of such men, and asks for food, it will be opened by a vicar as poor as himself, who tells him he must go away and get a dinner elsewhere, as the master of the house is not at home. Such, he exclaims, is the glorious religion of your secular priests, to introduce whom you have turned out the monks who praised God with their own mouths, whose bread was ever freely given to the poor man, whose door was ever open to the wayfarer.[1]

That such a picture, though, perhaps, too highly coloured, was in a great degree a faithful one, is proved by the provisions made in all statutes passed during the next half century for the encouragement of residence.

But among the statutes of Chichester, before we come to those which attempt to remedy the vice of non-residence there are others which deal for the most part with the duties of the residents, and more especially of the four dignitaries, the dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer. The residence of these four was, of course, indispensable to the proper conduct of the services, the care of the church, and the regulation of all the subordinate officials.

The dean was the supreme head of the community, both as regarded the cure of souls and correction of manners; and he had jurisdiction over all the City parishes, with the exception of All Saints, which was a peculiar of the archbishop's. The dean, however, was himself also, together with the body over which he presided, subject to the authority of the bishop, when the bishop held a visitation of the cathedral.

The precentor, who ranked next to the dean, was the

[1] Pp. 65–66.

chief director of all the music; he set the pitch for chanting, and made out the list of readers and chanters for each of the many services which took place at various hours of day and night. This was such an important office, requiring such constant daily attention, that a deputy, called the sub-chanter or succentor, was appointed to assist him in the work, or to take it for him in the case of his being absent or disabled by illness.

Some statutes, passed in the year 1232, during the episcopate of Bishop Ralph Neville, define more exactly the duties of the chancellor and treasurer, because, as the preamble informs us, some doubts and difficulties had arisen about them. It is, therefore, ordained that the chancellor shall, according to ancient custom, in person, or through some apt and competent deputy, immediately after vespers, teach the proper pronunciation of the lections for the night hours to those who were appointed to read them. He might lighten his labours by hearing the juniors of the second and third form read their lections before vespers at any convenient time. He was to keep a trustworthy secretary, sworn to secresy, who should write all capitular letters; and, lastly, he was to correct all the books, and see that they were properly bound, and kept in good order. From the register of Bishop Rede, page 32, A.D. 1402, it appears that he was responsible for teaching the choristers grammar; in short, he was the general superintendent of the educational department of the community.

The office of treasurer was one of great importance in days when the ceremonial was elaborate, and the vessels, vestments, and other furniture of the church, and the ministers thereof, were abundant and precious. To him pertained the custody of all these articles, by day and night.

The definition of his duties in the statutes of 1232 involves the most minute directions concerning the size, number, and quality of the lights to be provided for the several altars, varying according to the seasons. Seven candles of 2lbs. weight each were to be lit on the high altar at mass, and eight candles of the same weight were to be fixed on the painted beam, with the figure of the crucifixion; or in other words, the rood-loft. But the directions are too full for transcription in detail.

He was to be assisted in his duties by a sacrist and two servants; and with their aid was responsible for the ringing of the bells and the opening and closing of the doors at proper time, and the cleaning of the whole building twice a year.

By the same copy of statutes it is ordained that on festivals of the first rank the canon whose turn it was to celebrate mass was not bound to hire servers, but might reward any who assisted him by inviting them to dine with him. Every canon who was present in choir at the six great festivals, Christmas Day, Easter, Pentecost, Trinity, the Dedication of the Church, and of the Reliques, was to receive one shilling, instead of wine, which had formerly been given. On the other principal feast days he was to receive sixpence. Every vicar present at the four great feasts, Christmas Day, Easter Day, Trinity Sunday, and the Dedication Day, was to have threepence. If a canon and his vicar were both present at a night office, or if the canon was prevented from attendance by illness, the periodical blood-letting, or any other cause allowed by the dean, the canon was to receive the distribution of bread undiminished; the vicar being fed at his master's table.

If any canon neglected the duty allotted to him according to the daily list, he was to be censured by

the dean in the chapter-house; if a vicar, he was to be mulcted for every offence one penny or twopence; if below the rank of a vicar (a lay singer?) he was to be chastised by the precentor or his deputy; if a singing boy, he was either to be turned out of the choir or to be whipped by the master of the boys, receiving seven or fourteen lashes, according to the gravity of his offence.

Ten singing boys were to be maintained, who were to be elected by the master and the precentor; on these ten, more than any others, works of mercy were more specially, frequently, and heartily to be exercised by the dean and canons.

The next body of statutes, of which a copy has been preserved, was drawn up in 1247, during the episcopate of St. Richard, and probably under his influence. The small number of canons personally present when these statutes were passed, being only three, besides the dean, precentor, chancellor, and the archdeacon of Chichester, is significant of the fact, which is more plainly indicated by the statutes themselves, that the practice of non-residence was still prevalent. The ordinances, indeed, are especially addressed to the remedy of this pernicious custom.

First of all it is enacted that the daily distribution of money out of the common fund, which was now made instead of loaves, should be assigned to such canons only as had personally been present either at vespers, mattins, or the greater mass, unless they were prevented from attendance by sickness, blood-letting, or some other reasonable cause, among which was reckoned absence on chapter business, undertaken at their own expense. Canons merely passing through the city were not entitled to a share unless they appeared in church in their canonical habit.

Secondly it is enacted that, as the temporal and spiritual welfare of the church depends very much upon the residence of her ministers, the surplus of the common fund shall be divided among those only who are resident, as a remuneration for their labours. Real residence is then interpreted to mean personal attendance at all prescribed services in the church for the whole year, three weeks' absence only in each quarter being allowable; to be granted at the discretion of the dean. Canons who were absent for a longer period than twelve weeks in the aggregate, were not entitled to any remuneration, except by special favour of the dean and chapter, in consideration of long and eminent services; but in no case was the amount to exceed half the portion due to a full resident, and if the absence was prolonged beyond six months, it was forfeited altogether. Nothing could properly excuse a canon from residence except attendance on the schools, or on the king, primate, or bishop, in the capacity of chaplain.

Each canon present at vespers, mattins, or high mass was entitled to threepence, and on feasts of the first and second dignity, if present at the reading of the Gospel, he was entitled to a penny. The bequest of half a mark for each canon at Easter, made by a late dean, was to be given to those only who were resident and present at mass. Legacies left to the church were to be divided among those who attended the obsequies of the donor.

Canons were enjoined to repair their houses in the city, and on their prebend, which was to be sequestered if the repairs were neglected.

The sale of candles intended for the use of the church, and every kind of traffic within the precincts, is absolutely forbidden, in the name of Him who cast out the buyers and sellers from the Temple court.

Lest the beauty of the service should be further disfigured by the thin attendance of vicars ('ne raritate vicariorum ulterius in choro divinorum deformetur honestas'), it is ordained that every vicar should attend all the services by day, and if prevented by sickness, bloodletting, or any other legitimate cause, he was to take care that some vicar of the same rank supplied his place.

Some further statutes were drawn up in 1251. The four dignitaries were present on this occasion and five canons; seven appeared by proxy, and the rest were absent altogether; so the statutes passed six years before do not seem to have been very effectual in securing residence. It was then enacted that canons who did not personally appear or send proxies, when summoned to a chapter by the dean, should forfeit their share in the distributions of the common fund made at the great festivals.

This chapter also confirmed a statute, which is there called a statute of Bishop Simon's (Simon of Wells, 1204–1215), that when a canon died between Michaelmas and Mid-Lent, half of the revenues of his prebend, for one whole year from the day of his death, was to be added to the common fund, and half was to be expended on the fabric of the Cathedral; but the proceeds of tillage on his lands, between Michaelmas and the day of his death, were to go to the property of the deceased. If he died in or after the middle of Lent, then the agricultural profits up to Michaelmas next were added to his property, but the two halves of the prebend for a whole year, reckoning from Michaelmas, were to be applied in the manner aforesaid.

In all these instances the bishop was either present when the statutes were drawn up, and assisted in their composition, or ratified them after they were made. This

amount of authority the bishops seem always to have retained, however much their power in other respects declined. Such episcopal ratification was held to be indispensable to the validity of the statutes. We have a remarkable instance of successful opposition to the infringement of this right in the case of Bishop Langton.

In 1314 the vicars brought a complaint to him that the dean and chapter had ordained several decrees affecting their interests without consulting their wishes or obtaining his consent and confirmation. The statutes do not seem to have been objectionable in themselves. It was enacted that no beneficed priest should be a vicar, that no vicar should serve two stalls, that if not present at all services a farthing for each absence should be deducted from his stipend. They were not to bring dogs into the church, on pain of suspension. The daily distribution of bread was to be taken from those who were absent from mattins and given to the wakeful and industrious ('vigilantibus et laborantibus'). The bishop warmly took the part of the vicars, sharply reprimanded the chapter, and compelled it to declare the statutes void.

This is the last glimpse we have of any statutes either carried or proposed for more than half a century. It is manifest that the statutes which we have just described passed in the episcopate of St. Richard rendered it highly advantageous to canons to reside and attend to their canonical duties in the Cathedral; for they not only enjoyed the daily distribution, and the special payments on high festivals, but had each a share in the divisible funds at the end of the year. The inevitable result of this was, as time went on, that many canons became as eager to reside as formerly they had been eager to stay away. And as any canon who chose might come into

residence, the amount of the dividend, when many resided, must sometimes have been very small. Hence it became desirable to place a limit on the number of residentiaries by checking residence as much as once it had been encouraged. This was effected in Chichester, and apparently in most other cathedrals of the Old Foundation, about the end of the 14th century, by a very curious device.

Any canon who came into residence at Chichester was to pay, as a kind of entrance fee, twenty-five marks to the dean and chapter, and twenty-five to the fabric fund. He was to be present during the whole of the first year at all the services, by day and night, in the choir; and if absent from any he forfeited his residence, and had to begin it again. (?. Had he to pay another fifty marks) But this was not all. He was to entertain every day, for a year, at his own table, the vicar of his own stall and two others; and was to feed a door-keeper, two sacrists, and one chorister. He was also required to celebrate his admission by giving a feast to the dean and chapter and all ministers of the church, and throughout the year he was responsible for the entertainment of strangers, and was generally to discharge such burdens in the way of hospitality as fell to the lot of residentiaries.[1]

Here, then, we have the first step towards dividing the whole body of canons into the two distinct classes of residentiaries and non-residentiaries. The number of residentiaries was not fixed, but it was checked; not, however, in a just or satisfactory manner, for none but

[1] There is not a date attached to this document, but from its place among other documents, and from the evidence of the handwriting coupled with its resemblance to similar enactments, of which the date can be fixed, in the case of other cathedrals, I judge that it cannot be earlier than the time of Bishop William Rede, 1368–1385, or later than that of Bishop Mitford, 1390–1396, most probably the latter.

wealthy men could afford to purchase the right of residence by such an outlay, and they might be the very men whose residence was least conducive to the moral and spiritual well-being of the community.

In this state of things we have the beginning of that which was afterwards the ruin of most cathedrals; the concentration of all power in the hands of a small and wealthy oligarchy.

But it is time now to turn from the canons and to take a look at the history of their deputies, the vicars. It has been already pointed out that they had a share in the daily distribution, an annual stipend from their master, a right to a lodging in his house, and a place at his table. But the picture, as painted by Richard of Devizes, in the passage cited above, represents their lot as far from enviable. Their share in the property of the chapter was small, their stipend, which was not large, was wholly dependent on the ability and willingness of their master to pay it, and often it was largely in arrear. When then the number of residentiaries increased, there were scarcely houses enough for the canons themselves, and the vicars had to find rooms where they could, to their own discomfort and the dishonour of the Church.

Everyone who has been to Wells will remember the curious picture which represents the vicars humbly kneeling before Bishop Ralph, of Shrewsbury, and imploring him to establish them in some fixed abode. The bishop, in the picture, assents to their supplication, and in this assent we see the origin of that matchless piece of work, the Vicars' Close, which is to this day one of the most lovely things in the loveliest of all cathedral precincts. But the vicars at Wells, and most other cathedrals of the Old Foundation, not only sought a fixed dwelling-place, but also a fixed constitutional status, by becoming a

separate corporation. This position of independence was acquired by the vicars at Chichester more than fifty years before their brethren at Wells gained the like boon. Very probably they moved the pity of King Edward I. during one of his numerous visits to Chichester; perhaps on the occasion of the translation of St. Richard's relics in 1276. At any rate, the charter of incorporation signed by the king is dated December 30, 1277. It grants the vicars liberty to elect a principal, and to have a common seal; also to acquire and hold lands, tenements, and emoluments, spiritual and temporal, in the names of the principal and community of the vicars of the Church of the Holy Trinity. At the same time the vicars were to render obedience to the dean and chapter in all things lawful, honest, and canonical, and all the rights of the dean and chapter were to be preserved intact. This right to hold property as a separate community, not only released them from depending solely on scanty and sometimes irregularly paid stipends from the canons, but gave them the prestige of higher rank. The poor, wandering, it might be hungry vicar became a member of a dignified, sometimes wealthy college. What kind of building was assigned in the first instance for the habitation of the vicars at Chichester cannot, in the absence of documentary evidence, be certainly determined, but probably it was on or near the site of the present Vicars' Close, and consisted of two rows of houses running up northwards from the Canon's Lane. The space between them seems originally to have been a burial ground. Bishop Mitford, in the eighteenth year of Richard II., bought and bestowed on the college the Gilden Hall, which is described in his charter as being on the north side of the cemetery. This is the building which now connects the two sides of the

Vicars' Close at the northern end, and which was used as the common dining-hall of the college; and a very handsome hall it must have been. Some of the fine timber roof yet remains; and also the pulpit from which one of the brethren read aloud during meals; but more beautiful than anything else is the vaulted undercroft, accessible from South Street. Bishop Mitford also gave a tenement, belonging to Robert Sexteyn, on the south side of the same cemetery, 'pro mansionibus, habitationibus gardinis, et aliis usiamentis pro vicariis,' who should then and hereafter perform divine office according to the disposition and will of the dean and chapter; the statute of Mortmain notwithstanding.

By the statutes which bear the name of Bishop Storey, A.D. 1478–1503, canons are commanded to pay the stall wages due to their vicars within a month after the end of each term when they became due.

But by far the most minute and important body of statutes as affecting the condition of the vicars is that which was drawn up by Bishop Sherburne, or under his direction, in 1534. By these it is enacted that an apt and fitting person for principal should be elected by the brethren every year on the feast of SS. Cosmus and Damianus, or within six days after it. He was to hold office for a year, and to pay a fine of 13*s.* 4*d.* if he neglected his duty. If the votes were equally divided between two candidates, or if the vicars neglected to make an election, it lapsed to the dean and chapter.

The principal was to see that the vicars observed the statutes, and that good order was maintained amongst them. If any proved refractory he was to report them to the dean and chapter.

He was to preside in hall, and when unable to attend in person he was to appoint a deputy.

Every vicar on admission was to take an oath that he would obey the principal, and be faithful to the college; that he would observe the statutes and customs, and that he would not reveal secrets outside the hall, whereby quarrels and bickerings might arise to the prejudice of his colleagues. He was also to eschew all clubs and confederations.

After the evening refection commonly called 'Bevers' ('quas "Bevers" vulgariter vocant') the vicars were not to stay in hall under a penalty of fourpence each. On Christmas Day and other high festivals the principal might give them leave to tarry longer, provided that the nocturnal offices in the church were attended by the full number. In no case were they to sit up later than 8 o'clock, lest they should be late for the early morning services.

From 7 at night to 7 in the morning all members of the college, whether in their rooms or out of them were to keep silence.

No vicar was to spend the night in the city or suburbs without the principal's leave, under a penalty of eight pence.

No vicar was to admit a stranger to sleep within the precincts without the principal's leave, under a penalty of two shillings.

The common seal was to be kept in a chest under three keys, together with the plate and documents of the college.

Each vicar was to have a separate room in good repair, which he was bound to keep in that state at his own expense. If he neglected to do this, the principal was to impose some penalty upon him, and if the principal neglected to keep any vicar up to his duty in this matter, he was himself to be fined 3*s.* 4*d.* by the dean and chapter.

A supervisor appointed by the college was to see that the houses on their lands were kept in proper repair.

The servants were to be appointed and overlooked by the principal.

One of the vicars was to act seneschal for the college month by month; the bread was under his care, and the key of the cellar was to be given by him every night to the principal.

The statutes were to be read over aloud at the end of each term, and a copy was to be placed in the pix or chest which was chained to the pulpit on the south side of the hall. Each vicar was to have a key of the chest that he might at any time peruse the statutes at his leisure.

At meals one of the vicars in turn was to read a book aloud, silence being kept by the rest. Frivolous garrulings, unseemly laughter and clamour were to be suppressed; modest and genial conversation after meals was to be allowed at the discretion of the principal. The vicars were not to wear a sword in the streets unless about to go out of the city or to leave the country; they were always to wear their gowns when going about the town. Any vicar who was obliged to tarry in a house in the city was to take a companion with him, as a witness of his good behaviour. Dogs were not to be brought inside the precincts.

Each vicar was to pay a farthing a week for the repair or replacement of broken vessels. If a stranger stayed in the close, he was to pay 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for his lodging.

A vicar who struck another was to be fined one shilling, and two shillings if the blow drew blood.

A vicar convicted of keeping a concubine was to be fined 3*s.* 4*d.*

The cook or scullion was to keep the grass plot neat

and clean. This was the garden which Bishop Sherburne bestowed on the college, with which the vicars express themselves mightily pleased, and promise in gratitude to offer a special collect for the bishop at Mass. It is difficult to see where the bishop could have given them a garden, except in the space within the quadrangle of the close, which from the documents cited above seems to have been a burial-ground; so what he did, perhaps, was to allow the vicars to level the burial-ground, and plant it with shrubs or otherwise arrange it as a garden, as was afterwards done in the Paradise or burying-ground enclosed between the cloisters and the cathedral.

In 1573, at the visitation of Bishop Curteys, the vicars reply to certain articles of enquiry addressed to them by the bishop touching the condition of their college. 'The principal had not duly executed their statutes, but such vicars as had been obstinate and had not charitably lived he had denounced to Mr. Dean and the chapter sundry times. They did not daily use the common hall and had not, since they were suffered by Bishop Barlowe to eat at home for family reasons. They did not receive lodgers without the knowledge and consent of the principal. For the last twenty years, since the time of the popish priest vicars in Queen Mary's reign, their common seal had been kept under seven locks by Mr. Dean and the chapter.'

They had not seen it for four or five years, 'although we have had great cause to have the use thereof. And herein we think we have great injury offered us, wherein we that be vicars do humbly crave aid at your lordship's hands.' The statutes were safely kept under four locks and were read sometimes but not every quarter-day. 'There are no hawks but 2 or 3 littel spannells kept among us.' 'There be of our company who use to frequent, but do not haunt the city. Whether at all times

they have a companion as witness of their demeanour we know not.'

From this point the history of the vicars, as of the rest of the establishment, is one of declension and decay. And it must be remembered that any real restoration of the Cathedral bodies to their original dignity and efficiency must involve an improvement in the condition of the vicars. It was always intended, and at one time enforced, that the *whole body* of clerical vicars should attend *every* service; since they, together with the lay vicars, formed the choir. They were selected for their musical qualities, and were to take their part in singing just as much as the lay members of the choir, but to discharge clerical functions as well. In many cathedrals the lay vicars were incorporated into the same college with the clerical. But, as will presently be shown, the paring-down system has been adopted in this as in all other departments, until the whole body has become a mere skeleton of the original.

The Vicar's Close is now cut in half lengthways by a partition wall, the backs of the houses in South Street having been once the eastern side of the quadrangle. To this there was an entrance gateway out of Canon Lane facing the common hall. This is depicted in a drawing taken by Grim, of the Close, at the end of the present century.[1]

We have now traced the constitutional history of the Cathedral up to its high-water mark; and from this epoch the ebb begins.

The free residence of canons having been checked by the custom which grew up in the 14th century of exacting costly outlays from those who came to reside, the power and wealth of the corporate body gradually fell more and more into the hands of a small section. And as the

[1] Among Sir W. Burrell's Collection in British Museum.

cost of living increased with the decrease in the value of money, and the property of the church was impoverished by extortionate taxation or downright spoliation, and at the same time the church herself was torn by internal conflict and dissension during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, the number of canons who were able or willing to reside diminished yet further, or if at any time an unusual number pressed into residence discontent arose because the attenuated revenues could not yield an adequate dividend.

In the reign of Elizabeth the inconvenience arising from this state of things was felt so severely that in Chichester, as in most of the other cathedrals of the Old Foundation, means were taken to put an end to it. They varied slightly in different places, but the result was pretty nearly the same in all. The abuse of the constitution which had been creeping steadily on for two centuries, instead of being removed, was confirmed, but within certain exact limits. The number of residentiaries was now fixed, and the usurpation of the property and power of the whole chapter by a small fragment of it was definitely sanctioned.

The statutes of 1574, which were made during the episcopate of Bishop Curteys, fixed and perpetuated what had been hitherto merely an abuse of the constitution, and converted it into the normal state of the establishment. 'Whereas,' it is said, 'the revenues of the Cathedral are very small, and by reason of a multitude of residentiaries the profits being divided and dispersed into many hands, the old laudable hospitality is not, nor can be, kept up of any, whereby at this day is grown a contempt of this state; it is agreed that henceforth there shall be no more residentiaries but four beside the dean.'

Two other disastrous ordinances completed the ruin of the constitution. It had been already enacted in 1573 that none should be admitted to be a residentiary of the church except he first severally asked the good-will of the dean and every one of the residentiaries for the time being, and also had the consent of the dean and more part of the residentiaries besides the dean; also that none but residentiaries should have any portion of the common bread without the consent of the dean and the more part of the residentiaries. It was now enacted in 1574 that every residentiary should 'keep house and residence "per se aut per alium" by the space of three months every year to be appointed by the mutual consent of the dean and chapter at their audit beginning the 10th day of October yearly.'

Thus the ancient establishment was reduced to a mere ghost of its former self, and the original use and purpose of it as nearly as possible frustrated. The connexion of the great mother church with the diocese through the medium of a large body of canons who were sometimes residing on their prebends, sometimes around the cathedral, was in a great measure broken down; and the maintenance of constant and varied services in the church by a large staff of clergy on a grand scale in proportion to the august character of the fabric came to an end.

In some instances, as at Lincoln and Lichfield, the residentiary body was made to consist of the four dignitaries, the dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer. In this there was some sense, for if those offices be retained at all, it is plain that the holders of them ought to reside; otherwise they are an empty sham. Moreover, as the appointment of the dignitaries has always been vested in the bishop, he became in these cases the elector of the re-

sidentiary body, and so far one of the original uses of the chapter as a ready-made council for the bishop was preserved. But in the case of Chichester, as we have seen, and in most others, the admission of a canon to residence depended on the will of the existing body of residentiaries. A more unsatisfactory form of election than this, of co-optation, as it is called, it would be impossible to devise. Jobbery is the inevitable result. In a small committee of four or five men, they either lapse into the practice of allowing each to appoint to a vacancy in turn, or else they fall completely under the influence of one member within, or of some great person outside their body, and elect his nominee. In the last century and beginning of this, the appointments to vacancies in the residentiary body at Chichester seem to have been practically in the hands of the Dukes of Richmond. But in a small oligarchy jobbery will not be confined to the election of a new member; it is certain to creep into the other proceedings of the body. When the management of large property with considerable rights of patronage, the care of a great church, the appointment and government of all its officials, and the regulation of all its services in every detail, is entrusted to a small knot of men, some amount of jobbery is inevitable. Sooner or later a time comes to every such chapter when some one of a manœuvring or an overbearing disposition gets into it. The first outwits his simpler brethren, the second overawes them. By the first they are committed to unjustifiable acts before they are aware of it; by the second they are compelled to yield for the sake of a quiet life. The only safeguard against such evils would be that the whole chapter should be summoned to decide all questions of vital importance; for the simple reason that jobbery is not so easily per-

petrated by a large assembly as a small one. The four residentiaries might fairly be trusted to settle all matters of minor importance, but no serious alteration in the fabric or the services of the cathedral, no appointments to livings or offices of responsibility and trust should be made without summoning the whole body of canons to consultation. Instead of this, the little oligarchy of four or six, or at the most nine, residentiaries has in all cathedrals drawn to itself the whole executive power in things great as well as small, and the non-residentiary canons, though admitted according to the ancient formula to 'a voice in the chapter,' as well as a place in the choir, are never called upon to exercise that voice except at the farce of electing (as it is called) a bishop, who is really nominated by the Cr own.

The only thing which could have justified the reduction of the residentiaries to so small a number, and the concentration of all power in their hands, would have been their constant and habitual residence near the Cathedral. Common sense would seem to demand that a man who is expressly called a residentiary should really reside, but the statutes of Bishop Curteys, as has been shown, deliberately reject this reasonable condition, and statutes or custom and the operation of the modern Cathedral Act have brought about the same state of things elsewhere. A residentiary canon might be more properly denominated an occasional visitor. He is not bound to reside more than three months in the year, and if he pleases to make the Cathedral city his home he has often no particular duties assigned him, except during the three months when he is technically in residence. A three months' residence, as has been well said, is long enough for an unfit man to do a great deal of mischief, but not long enough for a useful man to do much

good.[1] If he comes from nine months' hard work in a parish or some other sphere, he is tempted to make his cathedral residence of three months a mere holiday; he must have rest somewhere, and he probably cannot spare time after his residence to take it anywhere else.

The invariable tendency of narrow oligarchies is to become increasingly exclusive, and to wrap up their proceedings in inscrutable mystery until they suddenly burst upon the astonished and perhaps offended world outside. The bishops as a rule have been steadily pushed out of their proper place as the heads of the deliberative assembly, and have less control over their own Cathedral church than any other in the diocese.

Bishop Bickley, in 1590, protested earnestly but in vain against the statutes passed in the time of his predecessor, Bishop Curteys, especially those two which cut down the number of the residentiaries to four, and the residence itself to three months out of twelve. In like manner, the non-residentiary canons time after time tried to establish their right to take part in the election of proctors for Convocation, but ultimately without success.

The jealousy with which the least semblance of the bishop's authority in his own cathedral was regarded by the chapter may be gathered from the following curious memoranda concerning the bishop's right to be preceded by a verger. In 1674 Bishop Gunning signs a declaration that in appointing a servant to carry a virge before him into the Cathedral he does it 'simply for order and decency's sake, without any design to take upon him anything of jurisdiction or authority that was not in him before, nor to diminish in the least any of the jurisdiction which the dean or dean and chapter hath had at any time heretofore.'

[1] Freeman's *Hist. of Wells Cathedral Church*, p. 95.

In 1714 Bishop Manningham kindly renounces the right to have a verger.

In 1727 Bishop Waddington is graciously permitted by the chapter to hire a verger at his own expense.

The bishops of Chichester, however, in the 17th and 18th centuries, seem most of them to have held at least one visitation of the Cathedral, at which certain orders and decrees were generally drawn up in chapter with the assent of the dean and chapter. How salutary even such occasional supervision was, and what the condition of the establishment would have been had the chapter been left utterly to their own devices, is apparent from the fact that many of these orders relate to the abolition of petty nuisances and correction of scandals in and about the Cathedral which could never have existed had the dean and chapter been competent and vigilant rulers. Some specimens may be interesting. In Bishop Harsnett's orders, 1611, it is directed that there be no irreverend gesture or unseemly talking by any of the vicars, lay vicars, or Bishop Sherburne's clerks in time of divine service, on pain of an admonition and deprivation after three admonitions; that no vicar or clerk go out of the choir during service time; that if any of the vicars or other officials be a drunkard, or common frequenter of taverns, inns, or tippling houses, a rioter, gamester, or quarreller, he be deprived after three monitions; that no clerk, vicar, or chorister be admitted until public trial of his voice and skill shall have been made; that the master of the choristers bestow three hours at least on teaching them. The articles of enquiry at Bishop Harsnett's third visitation point to negligence of his former orders. He requests to know where the statutes are kept and whether they are observed; how often has the dean preached during the last six or seven years? has every prebendary

preached in his turn? have advowsons of livings and schools been sold from hand to hand? have not many of the vicars and lay vicars been absent for months together? is the choir sufficiently furnished, and are the boys properly instructed? what is become of the copes and vestments? who is responsible for the custody of them and of the books? who is the principal cause of the defects that do appear in those things? are there not ale-houses in the Close? and have not laymen keys to open doors? why are boys and hogs allowed to beastly defile the walls? why are all these things not amended since the last visitation? These articles seem to have stirred up the chapter to issue some decrees for the 'better ordering of their church and churchmen,' which bear date September 27th, 1616. The bells are to be rung more regularly, and the bell-ringers are to keep order all sermon time each in his walk or quarter; the vestments are to be carefully put away in presses. Bishop Sherburne's bedesman was to be more diligent in his duties, and to 'purge the churchyard of hogs and dogs and lewd persons that play or do worse.' The verger was to keep clean the cloisters, and to 'scourge out the ungracious boys with their tops, or at least present them to the old man of the vestry.' The principal of the vicars was to see the 'outdoors of their cloisters locked up and fast barred by nine of the clock at night, to keep the keys himself,' and to 'repress all seditious brawlers and other enormities there; or if they flame out so fast that he cannot,' then to relate them to the dean or president of the chapter. He was to see the cloisters were 'kept staunch and sweet.' Fines for absence from services were to be exacted more strictly from the vicars.

In 1695 it is ordered by Bishop Grove that the Paradise Garden (the space between the cloisters and the

church) demised to Mr. Woodward, 'be not dug up for turnips or such uses whereby the bones of any person there buried may be disturbed;' that the master of the choristers take them every Saturday, after morning prayers, to the master of the Free School to be examined and instructed in the Church Catechism; that the singing men and choristers on Sunday, after morning prayers, when they go out of the choir, do go into their seat in the body of the church and join in singing the psalm before the sermon, and continue there all sermon time.

By Bishop Waddington's injunctions at his first visitation, in 1727, it is directed that since it appeared several members of the establishment could not make a satisfactory return to many of the most material articles of enquiry, 'for want of having it in their power to know what the statutes, ancient or modern, of the Church of Chichester are;' therefore, for the future all dignitaries and prebendaries of the said church shall have it in their power to know equally, with the rest of the body, what the statutes of the said church are to which they swear obedience at their admission. It is also ordered that for the future the vicars-choral, lay clerks, and choristers be never allowed to officiate in divine service without their surplices and other canonical habits.

Bishop Hare, at his primary visitation, 5th June, 1733, had to complain that the prebendaries had not been duly informed by the dean and lesser chapter of their citation to the visitation; also that the prebendaries and other members of the church, 'though sworn to the observance of the statutes, orders, decrees, and laudable customs by which 'tis governed, appeared by the answers given to our articles of enquiry to have very little knowledge of them, nor ever to have had a sight of them.' Bishop Hare therefore orders that the statutes should

be collected into one book, to be kept in the chapter-house, and that the prebendaries should be freely admitted to read it and make copies from it.

Bishop Hare, by a singular accident, was the instrument of adding for a short time a fifth canon residentiary to the mystical number of four. In 1735 the votes of the dean and chapter were divided between two canons, and they after much debating referred the selection to the bishop. He decided that both the canons should be called into residence, and that they should divide the emoluments between them.

In Bishop Mawson's primary visitation, 1742, the old complaint recurs that vicars absented themselves from services without leave, and that the fines due for such negligence were not enforced.

In 1767 Bishop Ashburnham, at the request of the dean and chapter, issued a statute for the reduction of the number of lay vicars to four. The lay members of the choir had been eight—four on the primary foundation, and four founded by Bishop Sherburne, called Sherburne's clerks. The stipend of one of these clerks was in the year 1685 united to the organist's office, and the profits of another were divided between the remaining two. The statute of Bishop Ashburnham declares that the 'common expenses of living being considerably increased by the excessive dearness of provisions, it appears equally necessary to increase the stipends of the remaining lay vicars by reducing their number.' It is therefore ordained that for the future there shall be no more than four in all, and their wages increased by dividing amongst these four the stipends formerly allotted to the whole body.

In fact from the days of Bishop Curteys to our own, paring down and cutting away seems to have been the

only solution ever thought of for all difficulties in our cathedral establishments. The framers of the Cathedral Act, thirty-five years ago, adopted it as the principle of their legislation. They dealt with the constitutions of cathedral bodies very much in the same way as Wyatt dealt with the cathedral fabrics; that is, they destroyed some parts and defaced others. Wyatt chiselled away the surfaces of walls, or pulled down towers, or dragged tombs out of their places, to make what in the language of the newspapers, would be called a 'neat and appropriate structure.' The authors of the Cathedral Act hacked the old constitutions out of all shape. Instead of looking to the history of the constitutions, which with much general resemblance vary in each case; instead of considering where the spirit and meaning of these constitutions had been violated and where they might be repaired, they rode rough-shod over everything;—they took the abuse of the constitution —namely, the system of four canons with a three months' residence—for their rule, and reduced all cathedral bodies to as nearly as possible one uniform level of uselessness. People are now beginning to see what a mistaken piece of work the Cathedral Act was. There is a great desire to make cathedrals and cathedral bodies useful; but, to make them useful, material is needed, and this our bungling reformers have taken away. It is for time to show how their mistakes may be yet retrieved; but this at least is certain, that if cathedrals are to be made useful, if any work is to be done in them or through them on a scale commensurate with the grandeur of the buildings, it must be by a reformation wrought out on the lines of the old constitution. Some of their long lost revenues must be refunded: the bishop must be restored to his proper place in the chapter: a due proportion between resident and non-resident canons must be re-

established, and the rights of the non-residentiaries to vote on all questions of importance must be recovered; the principal officers, namely the precentor, chancellor, and treasurer, must be revived and brought into residence; and above all, these dignitaries and the rest of the residentiary body should be elected (as there is good hope they will be now that the appointment of all rests with the bishops) because they are *really* fitted for the duties appertaining to their office, and will *really* reside in the place where that duty has to be done.

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